

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. VIII

MAY, 1908

No. 11

Criticism of the Program submitted to the Gotha Congress of 1875.

From the posthumous papers of Karl Marx.



HIS CRITICISM of the draft of the program was sent to Bracke with the accompanying letter shortly before the Gotha Congress of unity in 1875, to be forwarded to Geib, Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht and then to be returned to Marx.

As the convention at Halle has placed the discussion of the Gotha program upon the order of the day for the party, I should believe myself guilty of suppression, were I any longer to defer making public this important, perhaps the most important, document bearing upon this discussion.

But the manuscript has yet another and a more far-reaching significance. The position of Marx toward the course taken by Lassalle after his entrance into the agitation, is for the first time laid down clearly and positively not only as regards the economic principles but the tactics of Lassalle as well.

The ruthless sharpness with which the draft of the program is here dissected, the inexorableness with which the results attained are expressed, the nakedness of the draft exposed, all this can no longer wound to-day as fifteen years

have passed. Specific Lassallians exist now only as isolated ruins in foreign lands and the Gotha program has been abandoned in Halle even by its originators, as entirely inadequate.

Nevertheless, I have omitted some severe personal expressions and opinions where these were indifferent to the subject matter and replaced them with stars. Marx himself would do this, were he to make the manuscript public today. His vehement language in places was provoked by two circumstances. Firstly, Marx and I were more intimately united with the German movement than with any other; therefore the decided retrogression announced in this draft of the program, of necessity excited us especially violently. And secondly, at that time, barely two years after the Hague Congress of the International, we were in the midst of the most violent conflict with Bakunin and his anarchists who made us responsible for everything which took place in the labor movement in Germany. We therefore had to expect that the secret paternity of this program also would be shoved upon us. These considerations exist no longer, hence the necessity for the passages in question ceases.

There are also some sentences merely hinted at by stars, because of the laws governing the press. Where I was compelled to select a milder expression, it is shown by brackets. Otherwise the text is literal.

London, Jan. 6, 1891.

FR. ENGELS.

London, May 5, 1875.

Dear Bracke:—

Will you, after reading the following critical annotations to the program of coalition, kindly forward them to Geib, Auer, Bebel and Liebknecht for inspection? I am overoccupied and must work away beyond the limit that my physician has prescribed to me. Therefore it has been by no means, a "pleasure" to me to write so much waste-paper. Yet it was necessary, in order that, later on, the steps which I must take, may not be misconstrued by the party friends for whom this communication is determined. * * * * * This is indispensable, since in foreign lands the opinion carefully nourished by party enemies, the thoroughly erroneous opinion, is harboured that we here are secretly leading the movement of the so-called Eisenach party. In an article that recently appeared in Russian, Bakunin makes me for example * * * * * responsible * * * * * for all programs, etc., of that party. Aside from this, it is my duty not to recognize, by a diplomatic

silence, a program that according to my conviction is utterly condemnable and demoralizing to the party.

Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programs. Therefore if it was impossible to go beyond the Eisenach program — and the circumstances of the times did not permit of it — a simple agreement for action against the common enemy should have been concluded. But when a program of principles is prepared (instead of postponing it to a time when a matter of that kind would be the result of longer common activity) boundary stones are erected before the whole world, upon which the height of the party movement is measured by the world. The Lassallian leaders came because conditions compelled them to. If, at the very outset, the declaration had been made to them that no chaffering in principles would be entertained, they would have had to content themselves with a program of action or a plan of organization for common action.

Instead of that, they were permitted to appear armed with mandates which were recognized as binding; the Eisenachers therefore, have submitted to the favor or disfavor of the needy. To crown the thing, they again hold a congress before the compromise congress, while the party itself holds its congress post festum. (Note) * * * * * It is known that the mere fact of the union satisfies the workers but it is an error to believe that this momentary result is not bought too dearly.

Moreover, the program is good-for-nothing, even apart from the canonization of the Lassallian articles of faith * * *.

The Volksstaats bookstore has peculiar manners. Up to this moment for example, not a single copy of the reprint of the Cologne Communist Trial has been sent to me.

With best greeting, your

KARL MARX.

Annotations to the Program of the German Labor Party.

1. "Labor is the source of all wealth and of all culture and since useful labor is possible only in society and by means of society, the uncurtailed returns of labor belong to all members of society with equal right."

First part of the sentence: "Labor is the source all wealth and of all culture."

Labor is not the source of all wealth. Nature is just as much the source of use-values (and of such, to be sure, is material wealth composed) as is labor, which itself is but the expression of a natural force, of human labor power. That

phrase is found in all children's A. B. C. books and is right in so far as it supposes that labor makes use of the objects and means belonging to it. But a socialist program should not permit such bourgeois expressions which suppress the qualifications that alone give them sense. And in so far as man from the outset conducts himself as the owner of nature, the first source of all means and subjects of labor, and treats nature as belonging to him, will his labor be the source of use-values, therefore of wealth. The bourgeois have very good grounds for attributing to labor supernatural creative force; for it is just because of the limitation of labor by natural conditions that it follows that the man who possesses no other property than his labor power, must in all conditions of society and civilization be the slave of other men who have made themselves the owners of the objective conditions of labor. He can work only by their permission, consequently can live only by their permission.

Let us leave this proposition as it goes or rather as it limps. What conclusion would be expected? Clearly this:

Since labor is the source of all wealth, no one in society can "appropriate wealth to himself except as the result of labor. If therefore he does not work himself, he lives upon the work of another and he also acquires his culture at the cost of the work of another." Instead of that, a second proposition is annexed by the ambiguity "and since," in order to draw a conclusion from it and not from the first proposition.

Second part of the sentence: "useful labor is possible only in society and by means of society."

According to the first proposition, labor was the source of all wealth and of all culture, therefore also no society possible without labor. Now we learn the contrary, no "useful" labor possible without society.

It might just as well have been said that only in society, can useless and even harmful labor become a branch of industry, that only in society is it possible to live upon leisure etc., etc., — in short, to be able to transcribe the whole of Rousseau. And what is "useful" labor, Surely, only that labor which brings forth the use-effect intended. A savage — and man is a savage after he has ceased being a monkey — who fells an animal with a stone, who gathers fruits etc., performs "useful" labor.

Third: The Conclusion: "and since useful labor is possible only in society and by means of society — the uncurtailed returns of labor belong to all members of society with equal right."

A beautiful conclusion! If useful labor is possible only in society and by means of society, the returns of labor belong to society and the individual worker gets only so much of it as is not required for the preservation of the "condition" of labor, viz: society.

In fact, this phrase has been made the most of in all epochs, by the upholders of the social form prevailing in each of these epochs. First come the claims of the government with everything that is glued to it, for it is the social organ for the preservation of the social order. Then come the claims of the various kinds of private property, the foundations of society etc. It is easy to see that such hollow phrases can be twisted and turned according to desire.

Any reasonable connection whatsoever that there may be between the first and second part of the sentence lies only in this interpretation:

"Labor becomes the source of wealth and culture only when it is social labor" or what is the same thing, "in and by means of society."

This phrase is unquestionably right for even though isolated labor (its objective conditions presupposed) can produce use-values, it can produce neither riches nor culture.

But equally unquestionable is the other sentence:

"To that degree in which labor develops socially and thereby becomes the source of wealth and culture, do poverty and destitution develop upon the side of the workers, wealth and culture upon the side of the non-workers."

This is the law in all history up to the present time.

Therefore this was the time and place, instead of employing general, empty phrases about "labor" and "society," to show definitely how finally, in the present capitalist society, the material and other conditions are created which qualify and force the workers to break that social curse.

But in fact, the whole sentence is a failure in point of style and substance, is there only for the purpose of inscribing the Lassallian catch-word "uncurtailed returns of labor" upon the peak of the party flag as a watch-word. I shall come back later to the "returns of labor," "equal rights" etc. as the same matter comes up again in a somewhat different form.

② "In society of today, the means of labor are monopolized by the capitalist class. The consequent dependence of the working class is the cause of every form of misery and servitude."

The phrase borrowed from the international statutes is in this "improved edition" false. In the society of today, the

means of labor are monopolized by the landed proprietors (monopoly of landed property is even the basis of monopoly of capital and by the capitalists. In the passage in question, the international statute names neither the one nor the other class of monopolists. It speaks of "Monopoly of the means of labor," i. e. of the sources of life. The addition: "sources of life" shows sufficiently that the land and soil is included in the means of labor.

The improvement was brought forward because Lassalle for grounds now generally known, attacked only the capitalist class, not the landed proprietors. In England, the capitalist for the most part is not even owner of the land and soil upon which his factory stands.

3. "The emancipation of labor demands the elevation of the means of labor to common property of society and the confederated regulation of the whole labor with just distribution of the returns of labor."

"Elevation of the means of labor to common property" probably means their "transformation to common property," but this is merely a side remark.

What are the "returns of labor?" The product of labor or its value? And in the latter case, is it the total value of the product or only that portion of value that labor has newly added to the value of the consumed means of production?

"Returns of labor" is a loose notion that Lassalle has set in the place of definite economic conceptions. What is "just distribution?" Do not the bourgeois maintain that the distribution of today is "just?" And is it not actually the only "just distribution", upon the basis of the present method of production? Are economic relations regulated by conceptions of right or on the contrary, do not relations of right take their origin in economic relations? Have not also the socialistic sectarians the most varied ideas in regard to "just distribution?"

In order to know what to conceive in this particular instance by the phrase "just distribution," we must connect the first sentence with this one. The last supposes a society in which the "means of labor are common property and the whole labor is regulated confederately" and in the first sentence, we see that "the uncurtailed returns of labor belong to all members of society with equal right."

To "all members of society?" To the non-workers also? Where then is the "uncurtailed return of labor?" Only to the working members of society? Where then is "the equal right" of all members of society?

After all, "all members of society" and "the equal right"

are obviously but empty phrases. The kernel of it is, that in this communistic society every worker must receive an "uncurtailed" Lassallian "return of labor."

In the first place, regarding that phrase "return of labor" in the sense of product of labor, the confederated return of labor is the whole social product. To be subtracted from it are:—

First: provision for the replacement of the means of production consumed,

Second: a supplementary portion for the extension of production,

Third: a reserve or insurance fund for protection against accidents, disturbances resulting from natural causes etc.

These deductions from the "uncurtailed return of labor" are an economic necessity and their magnitude is to be determined according to existing means and forces, in part by the calculation of probabilities but in no manner can they be calculated by justice.

There remains the other portion of the whole product, destined to serve as means of consumption. Before it reaches individual division, there is again subtracted:

First: the general cost of administration, not belonging to production. This portion, at the very outset, will be reduced most considerably in comparison with the administrative costs of the present society and will be decreased in the same degree as the new society develops.

Second: whatever is designed for the common satisfaction of needs, as schools, sanitary provisions etc. This portion from the outset will grow considerably in comparison with the outlay of present society and will increase in the same degree as the new society develops.

Third: a fund for those incapable of work, etc., in short, for what to-day belongs to the so-called official care of the poor.

Only now do we arrive at the "distribution" which alone is recognized by that program, so subtly influenced by the Lassallians, namely, that portion of the means of consumption which will be distributed among the individual producers.

The "uncurtailed return of labor" has already transformed itself under our very eyes into the "curtailed," although what is lost to the producer in his capacity as private individual, benefits him directly or indirectly in his capacity as a member of society.

As the phrase "uncurtailed return of labor" has vanished, so now the phrase "return of labor," in general, vanishes.

The producers do not exchange their products within the

confederate society based upon the common property of the means of production; just as little does the labor employed upon the products here appear as value of these products, as a material quality possessed by them, since now in contrast to capitalist society, the individual work no longer exists in a round about way, but directly as component of the whole work. That phrase, "return of labor," even today condemnable because of its double meaning, thus loses all sense.

What we have here before us, is a communist society, not as it has developed up from its own foundation but the reverse, just as it issues from capitalist society; which therefore, is in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually still encumbered with the mother marks of the old society out of whose lap it has come.

Accordingly, the single producer (after the deduction) receives back exactly what he gives to it. What he has given to it, is his individual amount of work. For example, the social workday consists of the sum of individual working hours; the individual working time of the single producer is that part of the social workday furnished by him, his share of it. He receives from society a receipt that he has furnished so and so much work (after deduction of his work for the common funds) and with this receipt he draws out of the social supply of the means of consumption as much as costs an equal amount of work. The same amount of work which he has given society in one form, he receives back in another form.

Obviously the same principle governs here that regulates the exchange of commodities, in so far as it is the exchange of equal values. Substance and form are changed because under the altered condition no one can give anything except his work and because on the other hand, nothing can become the property of the individual except individual means of consumption.

But in so far as the distribution of the last amongst the single producers is concerned, the same principle governs as in the exchange of equivalent commodities, a certain amount of labor in one form is exchanged for an equal amount of labor in another form.

The "equal right" then is here still according to the principle—the bourgeois right, although principle and practice are no longer at strife, while the exchange of equivalents in the exchange of commodities exists only for the average, not for the individual case.

Despite this progress, this "equal right" is still always encumbered with a bourgeois limitation. The right of the pro-

ducers is proportional to the amount of work they furnish: the equality consists in that the labor is measured by an equal standard.

But one is superior to another physically or mentally, consequently furnishes more work in the same time or can work during a longer time; and the work, in order to serve as a standard, must be determined according to the extent or the intensity, otherwise it ceases to be a standard. This "equal right" is unequal right for unequal work. It recognizes no class differences because each is but a worker like the other; but it quietly recognizes the unequal individual endowment and therefore capability of performance, as natural privileges. It is therefore, a right to inequality, according to its substance, as is all right. According to its nature, right can consist only in the application of an equal standard; but the unequal individuals (and they would not be different individuals, were they not unequal) are only measurable by an equal standard, in so far as they are considered from a like point of view, conceived only from a definite side, for instance, in the given case, considered only as workers; and nothing more seen in them, abstracted from everything else. Further: one worker is married, the other not; one has more children than the other, etc., etc. By furnishing an equal amount of work and thereby an equal share of the social fund for consumption, the one therefore actually receives more than the other, the one is richer than the other, etc.

In order to avoid all these faulty conditions, right must be unequal, not equal.

But these faulty conditions are unavoidable in the first phrase of communist society, just as it has been born of capitalist society after long travail. Right can never be higher than the economic form of society and the development of culture thereby conditioned.

In a higher phase of communist society, after the servile subordination of individuals to the division of labor and therewith the contrast between intellectual and corporeal labor has disappeared, after labor has become not only means of life but itself the first necessity of life, after with the all round development of the individuals, the forces of production also have grown and all fountains of confederate wealth flow more fully — only then can the narrow bourgeois horizon of right be wholly crossed and society inscribe upon its flags: Each according to his capabilities; to each according to his needs!

I have entered more at length into the "uncurtailed return of labor" upon the one hand, the "equal right," the "just distribution" upon the other hand, in order to point out how

very frivolous it is upon the one hand to force upon our party again as dogmas, representations which at a certain time had a meaning but now have become antiquated phraseologic trash, and upon the other hand to pervert the realistic conception which has been so laboriously inculcated in the party and has now taken root in it, by means of ideologic pretences of right and other evasions so current with Democrats and French Socialists.

Apart from my elucidation up to this point, it was, upon the whole a mistake to lay so much stress upon distribution and to place the chief emphasis upon it.

Under any and all circumstances, the distribution of the means of consumption is but the result of the distribution of the conditions of production, itself. But this last distribution is a characteristic of the method of distribution itself.

For example, — the capitalist method of production is based upon the fact that the material conditions of production are apportioned to non-workers under the form of capitalized property and landed property, while the masses are owners only of the personal condition of production, of labor power. With the elements of production thus distributed, there results spontaneously the present distribution of the means of consumption. If the material conditions of production are the confederate property of the workers themselves, just so will there result a distribution of the means of consumption, different from that of the present day. Vulgar socialists (and from them again, a part of the democrats) have copied the bourgeois economists in considering and treating of distribution as independent of the method of production and therefore portraying socialism as centering chiefly upon distribution.

After the actual relation was made clear long ago, why go backward again?

4. "The emancipation of labor must be the work of the working class opposed to which, all other classes are but a reactionary mass."

The first proposition is taken from the introductory words of the international statutes but "improved upon." There it reads: — "The emancipation of the working class must be the act of the workers themselves" here, on the contrary, the working class has to emancipate — what? "Labor." Let him understand who can.

To make amends for the mischief, the counter-phrase of Lassalle's citation, is on the other hand, of the purest water: "opposed to which (the working class) all other classes form but a reactionary mass."

In the Communist Manifesto, it reads: "Of all classes which today stand confronting the bourgeoisie, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes perish and are swallowed up by the great industry, the proletariat is its special and essential product."

The bourgeoisie is here conceived of as a revolutionary class — as the carrier of great industry — confronting feudal and middle classes which wish to maintain all social positions which are the work of antiquated methods of production. Consequently, they do not, together with the bourgeoisie form but one reactionary mass.

Upon the other hand, the proletariat is revolutionary as confronting the bourgeoisie because itself growing out of the soil of great industry, it strives to strip off from production the capitalist character that the bourgeoisie seeks to perpetuate. But the Manifesto adds: "that the middle classes become revolutionary in view of their impending transition into the proletariat."

From this standpoint it is therefore again nonsense that they together with the bourgeoisie and above all with the feudals "form but one reactionary mass," opposed to the working class.

At the last election, were the hand workers, petty shopmen etc., and peasants appealed to thus: "as opposed to us, you form with the bourgeois and feudals but one reactionary mass?"

Lassalle knew the Communist Manifesto by heart, just as his faithful knew the Holy Writings emanating from his pen. When he then so grossly falsified it, it was only because he wished to palliate his alliance with the absolutist and feudal opponents of the bourgeoisie.

In addition to this, his words of wisdom are dragged into the above sentence by the hair, without any connection with the debased quotation from the statutes of the International. Here therefore, it is simply an impertinence and in truth, in no wise such as is displeasing to Mr. Bismarck, one of those cheap ill-manners in which the Berlin gentleman imitates Marat.

"The working class works for its emancipation firstly within the bounds of the national state of today, conscious that the necessary result of its striving which is common to the workers of all civilized countries, will be the international fraternity of nations."

In contrast to the Communist Manifesto and to all earlier Socialism, Lassalle conceived the labor movement from

the narrowest national standpoint. In this he is followed; and this, after the labors of the International!

It is a matter of course that, in order to be able to fight at all, the working class must organize at home by itself as a class and that the immediate theatre of the battle must be domestic.

In so far as its class struggle is national, not according to its substance but as the Communist Manifesto says — "according to its form."

But the boundary of the national state of today, for instance of the German empire, itself corresponds economically to the boundary of the world market, politically to the boundary of the system of state. Any merchant knows that German commerce is at the same time foreign commerce and the greatness of Mr. Bismarck consists indeed in exactly a kind of international politics.

And to what does the German Labor Party reduce its internationalism? To the consciousness that the result of its striving "will be the international fraternity of nations,— a phrase borrowed from the bourgeois liberty and peace band, which shall pass as the equivalent of the international fraternity of the working classes in common struggle against the ruling classes and their governments.

Of the international functions of the German working class, therefore not a word! And thus shall it offer the parole to its own bourgeoisie already fraternized with the bourgeois of all other countries against it, and to Mr. Bismarck's international conspiracy politics!

Actually the international creed of the program stands infinitely below that of the Free Trade party. It too, maintains that the result of its striving is "the international fraternity of nations."

But it also does something to make trade international and in no way contents itself with the consciousness — that all nations carry on trade at home by themselves.

The international activity of the working classes depends in no wise, upon the existence of the "International Workingmen's Association." The association was the first attempt to create a central organ for that activity; an attempt that through the impulse which it gave, was of lasting effect, but after the fall of the Paris Commune, it could no longer be carried through in its first historic form.

Bismarck's "North German" was perfectly right when it announced to the satisfaction of its master that the German Labor Party had forsworn Internationalism in the new program.

II.

"Proceeding upon these principles, the German Labor Party strives by all legal means for the free state and the socialist society, the abolition of the wage-system with the iron law of wages and exploitation in every form; the removal of all social and political inequality."

The "free" state, I shall refer to later on. So in the future, the German Labor Party has to believe in Lassalle's "iron law of wages." That it may not be lost, the nonsense is perpetrated of speaking of "abolition of the wage-system" (it should be called, — system of wage-labor) with the "iron law of wages." If I abolish wage-labor, I of course also abolish its laws be they iron or spongy. But Lassalle's contention with wage-labor turns almost wholly upon this so-called law. In order then, to prove the Lassallian sect has been victorious, it is necessary to abolish the "Wage-system with the iron law of wages" and not without it.

It is well known that of the "iron law of wages," nothing belongs to Lassalle except the word "iron," borrowed from Goethe's "eternal, great iron laws!" The word iron is a sign by which the orthodox believers recognize one another. But if I take the law with Lassalle's seal and therefore in his sense, I must also take it with his proof. And what is that? As Lange already showed soon after Lassalle's death: the Malthusian theory of population, preached by Lange himself. But if this is correct, I can **not** abolish the law though I abolish wage-labor a hundred times, because the law then governs not alone the system of wage-labor but every social system. Upon just this base, the economists have proven for over fifty years that Socialism can not abolish misery which is grounded in nature, but can only generalize it and at the same time, distribute it over the whole surface of society.

But all this is not the chief point. Entirely apart from the false Lassallian conception of the law, the truly engaging step backward consists in this: since Lassalle's death, the scientific insight has broken its way into our party that wages are not what they appear to be, namely, the value, respectively the price, of labor, but only a masked form for the value, respectively the price, of labor-power. Thereby the whole hitherto bourgeois conception of wages as well as the whole criticism hitherto directed against it, were once and for all thrown overboard and it was made clear that the wage-worker has only the permission to work for his own life, i. e. to live, only in so far as he works a certain time for

nothing for the capitalist, therefore also for the latter's co-consumer of surplus value; that the whole system of capitalist production, therefore, turns upon the prolonging of this gratis work, by extension of the workday or by development of the productivity, respectively the greater tension of the labor-power etc.; that consequently, the system of wage-labor is a system of slavery and indeed of a slavery that becomes harder in the same degree as the productive forces of labor develop, whether the workers receive larger or smaller payment. And after this insight has more and more broken its way in our party, they turn back to Lassalle's dogmas although they must now know that Lassalle did not know what wages were, but following the bourgeois economists, took the appearance for the substance of the matter.

It is just as if among slaves who at last have discovered the secret of slavery and have broken out in rebellion, some slave prejudiced by obsolete ideas, were to inscribe in the program of the rebellion: slavery must be abolished because under the system of slavery, the cost of feeding the slaves can not exceed a certain low maximum.

The mere fact that the representatives of our party were capable of committing such a monstrous attack upon the insight spread among the mass of the party, proves not only with what ----- frivolity ----- they went to work in the drafting of the compromise program!

Instead of the uncertain concluding phrase of the sentence, "the removal of all social and political inequality," it should read: that with the abolition of the class differences, all social and political inequality originating in them, would disappear of itself.

III.

"In order to usher in the solution of the social question, the German Labor Party demands the establishment of productive federations with state aid, under democratic control by the working people. The productive federations are to be called into life for manufacture and agriculture upon such a scale that the socialist organization of the whole of labor shall arise out of them."

According to the Lassallian "iron law of wages," the remedy of a prophet! It is "ushered in," in worthy manner. In place of the existing class-struggle there appears the phrase of a newspaper writer: the "social question" whose "solution" will be ushered in. The "Socialist organization of the whole of labor" "arises," instead of from the revolutionary transformative process of society, from the "state

aid" which the state gives to productive federations which it and not the worker "calls into life."

This is worthy of the imagination of Lassalle, that with state loans, a new society can be built as easily as a new railroad!

Out of * * * * shame the "state aid" — is placed under the democratic control of the "working people."

First: the majority of the "working people" in Germany consists of peasants and not of proletarians.

Second: "democratic" means in German, governing by the people. What does "the governing by the people, control by the working people" mean? And this above all, from working people who by these demands which they made upon the state, express their full consciousness that they neither govern nor are ripe for governing.

It is superfluous to enter here upon a criticism of the recipes written in contradiction of the French socialists by Buchez under Louis Philippe and subscribed to by the reactionary workers of the "Atelier." The main offense does not consist in that these specific wonder-cures have been put into the program, but in general, that there is a retrogression from the standpoint of a class movement to that of a sect movement.

That the workers wish to establish the conditions of confederate production upon a social and firstly by themselves, upon a national standard, only means that they work for the overthrow of the present conditions of production and has nothing in common with the founding of co-operative colonies with state aid. As far as the present co-operative colonies are concerned, they are of value **only** in so far as they are independent creations of the workers, protected neither by the governments nor by the bourgeois.

IV.

I come now to the democratic portion.

A. "Free foundation of the state."

First, according to II, the German Labor Party strives for "the free state!" Free state — what is that? By no means is it the object of those workers who have got rid of the narrow reasoning peculiar to the ruled, to make the state free. In the German empire, the state is almost as "free" as in Russia. The freedom consists in transforming the state from an organ having authority over society into one entirely subordinate to it, and today also, the political forms are freer or less free according to the degree in which they limit the "freedom of the state."

The German Labor Party, — at least, if it adopts the program — shows that its socialist ideas are not even skin-deep; for instead of treating existing society (and this holds good for every future society) as the foundation of the existing state (or future for future society), it treats the state, rather as an independent existence which possesses its own intellectual, moral, free foundation.

And then the base misuse that the program makes of the phrase "present state", "present society," and the still baser misunderstanding which it causes in regard to the state upon which its demands are directed.

"Present society" is capitalist society, that exists in all civilized countries more or less free from mediaeval addition, more or less modified by the special historic development of each country, more or less developed. On the other hand, the "present state" changes with the boundary of the country. It is different in the Prussian-German empire than in Switzerland, different in England than in the United States. The "present state" therefore, is a fiction.

But after all, the various states of the various civilized countries despite their motley difference in form, all have that in common, that they rest upon the ground of modern bourgeois society, only one more, one less capitalistically developed. Therefore they also have certain important characteristics in common. In this sense, is it possible to speak of the "present state" in contrast to the future, in which its present root, bourgeois society, is dead.

Then the question arises: what transformation will the character of the state undergo in becoming a communist society? In other words, what social functions will be left there, which are analogous to the present functions of the state? This question is to be answered only scientifically and it is impossible by combining the word people with the word state a thousand times, to reach even the length of a flea's jump, nearer to the solution of the problem.

Between the capitalist and the communist society, lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. To this there corresponds also a political transition period, in which the state can be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

But the program has to do with neither the last nor with the future character of the state of the communist society.

Its political demands contain nothing more than the old democratic litany, known to all the world: universal suffrage, direct legislation, popular law, popular defence etc. They are

merely an echo of the bourgeois people's party, of the peace and liberty band. They are simply demands which, in so far as they are not exaggerated into fantastic notions, are already realized. Only the state to which they belong, lies not within the boundary of the German empire but in Switzerland, the United States etc. This kind of a "Future state" is the state of to-day, although existing outside of "the frame" of the German empire.

But one thing is forgotten. Since the German Labor Party expressly declares that it moves within the "present national state", consequently its state, the Prussian-German empire,—its demands would otherwise be also for the greatest part senseless, as a person demands only that which he has not—it must not forget the chief thing, namely that all those beautiful little matters depend upon the recognition of the so-called sovereignty of the people; that therefore they are in place, only in a democratic republic.

As one is not in position—and wisely, for the conditions command caution—to demand the democratic republic, as the French labor program did under Louis Phillippe and under Louis Napoleon—so too, one ought not to flee to the * * * * pretense of demanding things which have sense only in a democratic republic, from a state that is nothing else than a military despotism, embellished with parliamentary forms, mixed with feudal additions, already influenced by the bourgeoisie, bureaucratically constructed, guarded by the police, * * *

Even the vulgar democracy that sees the millennium in the democratic republic and has no suspicion that it is in just this last form of state of bourgeois society that the class-struggle has to be definitely fought out—even it stands mountain high above such a kind of democracy, within the boundaries of what is permitted by the police and what is logically forbidden.

The very words: "the German Labor Party demands as economical foundation of the state: a single progressive income tax etc.", show that in fact, by "state" is understood the machine of government or the state, in so far as by division of labor, it forms an economic foundation of the governmental machinery and of nothing else. In the "future state" existing in Switzerland, this demand is tolerably fulfilled. Income tax presupposes the different sources of income of the different social classes, consequently capitalist society. It is therefore not strange that the financial-reformers of Liverpool—bourgeois with Gladstone's brother at their head—put forth the same demand as does the program.

B. "The German Labor Party demands as intellectual and moral foundation of the state:

1. Universal and equal education of the people by the state. General compulsory education, gratuitous instruction."

"Equal education of the people?" What is to be imagined by these words? Does any one believe that in the present society, and we have only with that to do, the education can be equal for all classes? Or is it demanded that the high classes too, shall be reduced to the small degree of education—the public school—, that alone is compatible with the economic conditions, not only of the wage-worker but also of the peasant?

"General compulsory education. Gratuitous instruction." The first exists even in Germany, the second in Switzerland and in the United States for the public schools. If in a few states of the last named, the higher institutions of learning also are gratuitous," it only means in fact that the upper classes have their cost of education defrayed out of the general taxbag. This, by the by, also holds good for the "gratuitous administration of justice" demanded in A. 5. Criminal justice can be had everywhere gratuitously; civil justice turns almost only upon conflicts in regard to property, therefore affects almost exclusively the propertied classes. Shall they carry on their lawsuits at the expense of the public purse?

The paragraph pertaining to the schools ought to have demanded at least technical schools, theoretical and practical, in conjunction with the public school.

Wholly condemnable is an "education of the people by the state" to determine the financial means of the public schools, the qualifications of the corps of teachers, the branches of instruction etc. by a general law and as happens in the United States, to watch over the execution of these statutory regulations by state inspectors is something entirely different from naming the state, the educator of the people. Much rather should the government and the church be excluded from any influence upon the school. Especially in the Prussian-German empire (and let not any one extricate himself by the corrupt subterfuge that a "future state" is spoken of; we have seen what kind of a case that is) the state, on the other hand is in need of a very harsh education by the people!

Indeed, the whole program, despite all democratic jingling, is poisoned through and through with the belief of a subject in the state, characteristic of the Lassallian sect, or what is no better, democratic belief in miracles, equally distant from socialism. "Freedom of Conscience"! If at this period

of the struggle for civilization, one wished to impress upon liberalism its old catch words, it could be only in this form: Every one must be able to perform his religious * * * * needs without the police sticking his nose in. But still upon this occasion, the Labor Party had to express its consciousness that the bourgeois "Freedom of Conscience" is nothing more than the sufferance of all possible sorts of religious freedom of conscience and that it rather aims to free the consciences from religious ghosts. But one chooses not to step beyond the "bourgeois" level.

I have now reached the end, for the appendix, that follows in the program, does not form a characteristic part of it. Therefore, I shall be short.

2. "Normal Workday."

The Labor Party of no other country has limited itself to such an indefinite demand, but has always fixed the length of the workday that it considers normal under the given conditions.

3. "Limitation of Women's Labor and Prohibition of Child Labor."

The making of the workday normal must of itself include the limitation of woman's labor, in so far as it relates to the length, respites etc.; otherwise it can only signify exclusion of woman's labor from branches of labor that are especially unsanitary for the feminine physique or are immoral for the female sex. If that is meant, it ought to be said.

Prohibition of Child Labor! It was absolutely necessary to state here the limit of age. General prohibition of child labor is incompatible with the existence of great industry and is therefore an empty, pious wish. To carry this out—even if possible—would be reactionary, since with strict regulation of the labor time according to the different ages and other precautionary measures for the protection of children, the premature union of productive labor with instruction is one of the most powerful means of the transformation of the society of to-day.

4. "State inspection of the Factory, Workshop and House Industry."

In contrast to the Prussian-German state, it should have been distinctly demanded that the inspectors can be removed only judicially; that any worker can bring them before the courts for violation of duty; that they must belong to the medical profession.

5. "Regulation of Prison Labor."

Petty demand in a general labor program! At any rate, it ought to be clearly expressed that it is not because of envy

induced by competition that it is desired to treat common criminals like cattle and in particular to cut off from them their sole means of improvement,—productive work. That indeed was the very least that would be expected from socialists.

6. "An effective law of imprisonment."

It should have been stated what is to be understood by "effective" law of imprisonment. Incidentally remarked, in the paragraph concerning the normal workday, that part of factory legislation pertaining to sanitary regulations and means of protection from danger etc. was overlooked. The law of imprisonment becomes effective when these regulations have been violated * * * *

Translated by Harriet E. Lothrop.

Asiatic Exclusion.



THE PROBLEM of the influx of Asiatic labor into the United States seems to present itself to the Socialist Party in a somewhat different light than it does to other working class organizations. We are, or at least if we ever expect to be a power, we should be a party representative of the working class. Furthermore while we hold fraternal

relations with the Socialist Parties of other countries, it is our particular and especial business to develop our own home organization. As scientific Socialists we know the only force which can ever effect the social revolution we hope and work for is the working-class. And we know further that the working class can accomplish that revolution only by a powerful and efficient organization. It cannot be achieved in the face of the skilfully organized forces of Capital by a mere mob. It is to the organized working-class, therefore, that we must look for our strength and support, for the means of our final victory.

The materialist conception of history teaches that it is folly to expect men in the mass to accept beautiful ideals and work for those ideals as against their present material interests. Marx has clearly shown that it is the material interests and economic necessities of men as individuals and classes that dictates their social conduct and political action. Accepting Marx we are driven inexorably to the position that an organization becomes stronger the more accurately it meets the material interests and economic necessities of the people. Indeed it was for this purpose that the materialist conception of history was made a part of the socialist propaganda — to be a lamp unto our feet, a guide in the darkness, that we would not fall into the morass of impractical schemes while pursuing the beautiful but illusory ideals of altruistic utopianism. So the Communist Manifesto says "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working-class."

We have then the organized working-class as the means, and its material interests and economic necessities as the force by which alone can be achieved the social revolution. We are further limited that this revolution is to be effected, so

far as our efforts extend, within the United States, a definite political and geographical territory.

Viewed merely as a matter of political expediency it is evident that the way to gain the good-will and support of the working man is to aid him to a better condition of life. The sure way to gain his ill-will and hatred is to participate in or advocate the degradation of his standard of life, or to remain neutral while he is sore-pressed by his capitalist enemies. If we are to build up a class-conscious workingman's political party then we must appeal to the material interests of the organized workingmen and encourage the betterment of their conditions as far as we are able. Shall we not say "We, the Socialist Party, as workingmen are resolved to use the ballot for our own benefit; we have organized the Socialist party to advance politically our material interests?" Thus we take the scientific socialist position and face the question of Asiatic exclusion from the standpoint of how it will affect *us as workingmen*.

It is idle for the idealists in the Socialist Party to prate about our duty to the Japanese workingmen or to preach of "internationalism" and fraternity. My personal experience is that it is the professional and small business men who are animated by these noble ideals, and who can cherish them with some safety as Japanese immigration has not yet seriously threatened their livelihood. With the organized workingmen and the unorganized, unskilled laborers, however, it is a different matter. For them to welcome the intense competition of Asiatic immigration with its low standard of living is to immolate themselves on the altar of international ideals and leave their wives and children go more hungry and ragged than ever. The reply of the workingmen to such a proposition is plain and emphatic. Unanimously in every organization the workingmen of America have declared for the exclusion of Asiatic labor.

In California the exclusion sentiment is so unanimous that all the political parties, depending for power as they all do on popular suffrage, were compelled to subscribe to this demand of Labor for the exclusion of Asiatics. But some Socialists who believe they cannot be truly revolutionary unless they are on the opposite side of the question from everyone else, whose only method of distinguishing the socialist position is to find out what organized labor wants and then take the antagonistic position — these Socialists (save the mark) are bitterly opposing the action of the National Executive Committee. They feel encouraged by the action of the Stuttgart Congress which adopted a long and contradictory

resolution expressing the muddled idealism of that body to whom the question was necessarily academic and unrelated to their material interests. Had it been subjected to the touchstone of the economic welfare of the German and French proletarians, there can be little doubt as to the attitude of Bebel and Jaures. Bebel would have declared as he declared in regard to disarmament. "The culture,, education, art, and literature of Germany were the heritage of the race, the property of the proletariat and that to defend them was no false patriotism, no treason to the workingclass." He would have declared that to permit the influx of millions from Asia would be "to put the more advanced nations at the mercy of the more backward ones" and to "adopt such tactics would be fatal to the German Social Democracy." See *International Socialist Review*, Sept., 1907, p. 133-4. So too would Jaures have spoken defending at all hazards the standard of life of the French workingman. Neither of these men could maintain their position as leaders of the proletarian party, did they not always fight for the betterment of the conditions of their constituents. But the American workers were represented by not a man from the West who knows what Asiatic immigration means, and were misrepresented by delegates better acquainted with Europe than with that portion of the United States lying west of New York City.. It is significant that the three countries that have Asiatic immigration are opposed to it, viz., South Africa, Australia, and America. The people that are not opposed to it are just those who have none of it. And of course those socialist residents of the United States who import their opinions ready made from Europe and are incapable of applying the fundamental principles of Socialism to the local facts cannot be independent in this matter from the dictum of our well-meaning European Comrades who did not know what they were talking about.

Three reasons all false are adduced for favoring an open shop, for that is the practical meaning of the anti-exclusionist's argument.

First:—It is asserted that the Japanese standard of living is as high as that of the European immigrants or of the native workingman, hence there can be no competition disastrous to the workers already here.

Let us appeal to the facts!

Hawaii has been open to the unrestricted immigration of the Japanese and may therefor be taken as an illustration of what would happen on the mainland of America were the Asiatic given perfect freedom to come. Bulletin No. 66 of the Bureau of Labor deals with the question statistically. The

Capitalist planters had declared that "the success of the plantations is conditioned, not only by cheap labor but also by law-abiding and docile labor. White labor is either too expensive or too unreliable for profitable operation." And on this demand the importation of Asiatics began. In 1884 there were some 116 Japanese in the island, the plantations were being operated by whites, Hawaiians, and Chinese. In 1900 there were 56,000 and now there are probably 60,000 Japanese. The percentage of the total population was 0.14% in 1884 and 36.50% in 1900. In 1905 the Japanese constituted 65% of the employees on the sugar plantations. Most of these were contract laborers, whose condition was little removed from serfdom. The testimony of wage-schedules and of capitalists combines to show that though strikes have occurred the Japanese are far more law-abiding and docile than any other labor.

The results to the wage schedule are seen in the following figures reported by the U. S. Bureau of Labor.

Table of Daily Wages.

Blacksmiths	Carpenters	Brakemen
Americans\$4.13	Americans\$4.00	Hawaiians\$1.01
Scotch 4.25	Portugese 2.41	Portugese96
Portugese 2.97	Hawaiians 1.60	Japanese86
Hawaiian 1.83	Chinamen 1.49	
Japanese 1.54	Japanese 1.37	
Cane Weighers	Engineers	Clerks
Americans\$2.34	Americans\$3.06	Americans\$2.47
Portugese 1.13	Portugese 1.88	Portugese 1.17
Hawaiians 1.07	Hawaiians 1.76	Japanese 1.09
Japanese78	Japanese 1.21	
Laborers	Cane Cutters	Field hands
Americans\$1.12	Chinese\$.84	Hawaiians\$.74
Chinamen81	Japanese70	Japanese65
Japanese78		

Similar figures can be produced for Pumpmen, Overseers, Teamsters, Painters, Wharfhands, Sugar Boilers and helpers, and other occupations in the Island. These figures taken from occupations where white and Japanese laborers are in competition show conclusively that the Japanese are absolutely the worst paid of the whole population, worse even than the Chinese. Not only are their wages worse but their hours of labor are longer. While in some trades a slight advance in wages has been gained in the past decade, in those occupations peculiarly liable to Japanese competition wages have declined. For instance, Field hands received 73c a day in

1900, 64c in 1902, and 63c in 1905. (This is the average including female labor).

First the unskilled laborers, then the skilled labor, then the petty merchants, the little storekeepers feel the disastrous competition of the Japanese. Hawaii is suffering to-day from excessive Orientalization. It is dominated by Japanese standards of living. Take the Building trades. In 1881 one establishment employed 41 white carpenters and 7 helpers; 17 more than the seven largest establishments employed in 1905. One establishment employed 6 bricklayers in 1881 and only three were employed by the 7 biggest concerns in 1905. It is not because building has ceased but because the Japanese with their lower wages and longer hours have displaced the whites. The effect on the merchants is evident. They have fewer customers, and these have slenderer purses; and as the Japanese enter business they become rivals.

The standard of living would be debased were the whites compelled to stay on the islands. Fortunately for them California is not as yet inundated by the flood of Asiatic immigration and still offers good wages and fair employment as things go. It costs a white man \$40 month to live in Hawaii. The Portuguese however manage to exist on \$15 to \$20. But the Japanese saves money on \$10 a month.

But Hawaii is only a half-way station. They are coming into the mainland at the rate of more than 2500 a month and in increasing numbers. Unskilled labor has felt this competition for some time being compelled to relinquish job after job to the low standard of living it could not endure. The unskilled laborers are largely unorganized and voiceless. But as the tide rises it is reaching the skilled laborers and the small merchants. These are neither unorganized nor voiceless, and viewing the menace to their livelihood they loudly demand protection of their material interests. This menace is not due to the superior skill of the Japanese but entirely to their inferior standard of subsistence. It was very good of the International Congress to declare that it was the "duty of organized workingmen to protect themselves against the lowering of their standard of life which frequently results from the massimport of unorganized workers." But Necessity had already taught us that duty. When "the Congress sees no proper solution of these difficulties in the exclusion of definite races from immigration" we are obliged to inquire what is meant by "proper." We of the Pacific Coast certainly know that exclusion is an effective solution. In the seventh decade of the nineteenth century the problem arose of the immigration of Chinese laborers. The Republican and

Democratic parties failed to give heed to the necessities of the situation and the Workingman's party arose and swept the state with the campaign cry of "The Chinese must go." Then the two old parties woke up and have since realized that to hold the labor vote they must stand for Asiatic exclusion. It is due to this that we are not now inundated by Chinese coolies in California and faced by a social race and labor problem like that of the South.

The second point urged by those who oppose exclusion perhaps had some weight with the Congress in distinguishing between "proper" and improper solutions. It is said by some of our wise economists that the American workingmen might as well meet the competition of imported Japanese labor as the competition of imported Japanese goods or face their competition in the world market. What reasoning arrives at this conclusion it is hard to discover. It involves the theory of the mutual interest of Capitalists and laborers, that wages depends on the price the manufacturer gets for goods produced. But is it really the same to the American workingman to have his wages (the price he sells his labor for) ground down and his job taken from him by a horde of competing Japanese laborers, as it is to have the price of the goods the capitalists put upon the market ground down by the competition of Japanese goods? In the first place the home markets are saved to the American capitalist by protection, and such employment as that may afford is kept to the American laborer. If the reply be made that the influx of Japanese-made goods into the world-market will cause the shutting down of our factories and the disemployment of labor, we can agree. But will the admission of Japanese laborers into America prevent the Japanese capitalists from flooding the world-market with their cheap-labor products? And as workingmen which do we prefer to see, the competition of American and Japanese capitalists in the world's commodity market, or the competition of American and Japanese laborers in the United States labor market? While low wages, unemployment and hard times may come from either source, we are bound to protect our own interests first. Let us as workingmen stop as much competition in the home labor market as we can and it will be up to the Capitalist to stop competition in what he has to sell in the world market.

Consider the attitude of the workingman in this matter. He looks naturally to the nearest and last-acting cause of his discharge for the key to a remedy. Though he may dimly perceive remoter causes it is the one right at hand that most powerfully impresses him. We can depend on a great deal

of discontent from the man who is thrown out of a job. When the cause of his discharge is a wage-worker cheaper in price, different in color, peculiar in manners and alien in speech all the resentment of the discharged workingman will be directed against this "foreign labor," race prejudice will flare up and the bitter hate of a "scab race" will crush out the last semblance of "brotherly love" and "international solidarity." Protestant Yankee against Catholic Irish, Catholic Irish against the "dagoes" all of them against the "sheeny," and on the Pacific Coast the fierce hoodlumism of a Denis Kearny, group-consciousness in the group-struggle to survive! You can not do away with this by preaching Class-consciousness and international solidarity. The material conditions are fatal to those ideals dealing with the question in that way.

On the other hand, what is the result when the proximate cause of the workman's discharge is the closing down of the factory? He sees then not that there is a job there but that a "foreigner" has it; he sees that the job is gone. The capitalists who have been taking exorbitant profits out of his labor and justifying themselves on the ground that they were providing the workers with a job, have broken this arrangement. They no longer provide the worker with a job. Their ability to dispose of the workman's product and get him his wages out of it for which they have been charging their profit — this ability suddenly vanishes. The capitalists are up against it. Their system of doing business has failed. And when the capitalist business system fails to provide him with the means of life all the revolutionary impulse of the discharged workman's sense of injury is turned, not against a fellow-worker, nor used to fan the flames of race hatred, but becomes the power and energy that drives him into an attack on the capitalist system.

We have now an immense amount of unemployment and the discontent is powerfully felt in the increase of the socialist strength. Shall we turn to the workingman who is now taking refuge with us, because the capitalist system has failed to give him the means of life, and say, "We propose to let the Japanese laborers come here in unrestricted numbers, though they work for half or a third of what you do and will undoubtedly displace you in the small amount of work that hard times has left to the toilers of America." If we do say that we should be locked up alongside of Harry Thaw in the Asylum for the Criminally Insane. It seems almost too preposterous to argue!

However it is not to be supposed that Comrade Boudin will be daunted. Japanese cannot become citizens and prac-

tise law, attorneys' fees are in no danger. And well may he "laugh at scars who never felt a wound." I mean simply that Comrade Boudin cannot appreciate the gravity of the situation any more than the European Socialists. His material interests being unaffected he can indulge that natural propensity for idealism which flourishes in academic speculation. I will grant him more. Earnestly and sincerely, coming from a country and being of a race that has suffered persecution and race hatred, his nature revolts at the idea of race exclusion. But that does not qualify him to formulate the policy of a political party in America. Nor does he reason logically nor does the International have good grounds for declaring that exclusion is "in conflict with the principles of proletarian solidarity."

International solidarity does not mean international competition. What monstrous twisting of "Workingmen of the World, Unite!" gives us the slogan "Workingmen of the World, Compete!" Is it our duty to invite the Japanese here to take our jobs at half the wage we get? Or in addition to the great task of organizing the polyglot mass of workers already here are we to have thrust upon us the task of amalgamating the Japanese? And for what and by whom? For a mere phrase! By people necessarily unappreciative of the immensity of the task!

I say a "mere phrase" for absolutely no substantial gain can be pointed out from unrestricted immigration. For Japan it would mean the loss of the boldest and most enterprising of her proletariat. These men kept at home would turn their strength to upbuilding the unions and the Socialist party there, economic pressure would so compel them. But by immigration they encounter better conditions and the revolutionary impulse is lost in the opportunities for advancement. As for us our first duty is to ourselves; to make ourselves strong enough to achieve the social revolution here in the United States. The best service we can do the Japanese is just that. And let them settle their own fight at home. The gain in wages of the Japanese immigrants would not mean a gain to the Japanese proletarians who have the work of the Japanese fight for Socialism upon them. To the American worker it would mean the loss of a standard of living gained at great cost. It would mean the diversion of revolutionary energy into race riots.

Internationalism means that we do not believe in the wars of aggression and invasion that have marked the world's history heretofore. If we do not believe in military invasion can we consent any more readily to an economic invasion?

Herve's impassioned declarations that the French workers have nothing to lose by a German invasion and German domination indicates that were there a loss his anti-militarism would be modified. His hold on the French workers is conditioned by their belief that they would be as well off under German capitalists as under the French. But if the Germans came into France with nothing in learning, nothing in culture, nothing in aid of art or science, if they brought only a grievous menace to the standard of life of the French workers, would Herve still say they should not be opposed or would he be listened to if he did?

In conclusion we may say that the time has come for the Socialist Party to decide what its relation shall be to the working-class. Are we going to bend the knee in worship of the idealistic phrase "The Brotherhood of Man" or are we going to affirm our solidarity with American labor and struggle to prevent the destruction of its hard won standard of life? In short are we to remain idealists out of touch with red-blooded, self-assertive life or are we to take our place in the workingman's struggle for existence, organizing his forces and always fighting for an advance in his means of life. Our feelings of brotherhood toward the Japanese must wait until we have no longer reason to look upon them as an inflowing horde of alien scabs. So long as the fact remains the enmity born of those facts will abide with us.

CAMERON H. KING, JR.

Out of the Dump.

A Story of Organized Charity.



ONE MORNING, ten years ago, when I was a little snip of a girl, Dad kissed us all goodbye, from mother down to the baby, and went off to work as usual. He never came back. It was this way. The third floor chute from the Can to the Canning Rooms down at the yards, had begun to give way and father was the first man sent over with a load, after one of the braces had been knocked out. He told the foreman how shaky the beams were, but that's as far as it went. Two of the men working near him told mother about it afterwards. But mother says one reason Dad held his job with the company so long was because he never backed away from risky jobs; nor kicked for safety appliances; nor harped on unsanitary conditions. I suppose that's why he didn't balk when it came to wheeling a great load over that broken chute.

He was always game, Dad was. Not at fighting the boss but game in the face of flying belts and broken machinery and death and disease and doing what the other men were afraid to do. He had been at Carton's for fifteen years, so perhaps that's why he didn't pit his staying qualities against the packing company. Fifteen years is long enough to make most anybody knuckle, especially when it's to the man who hands out the life-saving pay envelope every Saturday night.

Well, father was game once too often, for the beams supporting the old chute gave way and threw him head first into the yard. His spine was injured and the packing house doctor hustled him off in a delivery wagon to a hospital where the company (philanthropically?) supported a private ward. The House Attorney did what he was there for and kept his stenographer busy writing out affidavits which the canning floor workers were required to sign, showing how the accident had occurred through Daddy's own carelessness and the company wasn't to blame at all.

The same men that signed these papers came over to tell mother about the accident. You couldn't blame them for signing. It doesn't help much for two or three men to line up

against the boss. They'd only be "laid off". It takes numbers to gain anything that way.

They wouldn't let mother see father when she applied for admission at the hospital. She cried and begged but they told her he would get along nicely if he was not disturbed. But the packing house lawyer was admitted at once. You see, it paid the hospital authorities to stand in with the packers. And it paid the Carton Packing Company to keep their attorney at father's side to get a statement from Daddy that would free them from liability. Nobody can accuse them of not looking after their own interests.

Perhaps, if his friends had been able to reach father's bedside, mother might have gotten a few thousand dollars damages from the packing company, and we children could have been sent to school, which would have equipped us to bring better returns when we were put on the labor market later on. But if is a big word. Nobody saw father during his last moments but the callous packing house lawyer who brought away a paper which he claimed father signed, releasing the company from liability.

Life was very different for us all after that. Before the accident we had been tolerably sure of the two rooms over Mike's saloon which we called Home. And there was always bread and potatoes and sometimes soup and a stew for dinner. Mother had managed to send Bob and me and Katie and Tim to school a part of the time at least.

But after Dad went, life was a regular Lottery and a good many days were blanks. Mother took in so many washings for awhile that the walls of the basement room turned green with mold. But the Undertaker with his bill camped on her trail.

Bob was only eleven but he said clever things even in those days. We were twins—the eldest—Bob and I. But everybody guessed him to be fourteen when they heard him talk. He always had a way of breaking through shams and hitting the weak spots.

"Mother," he would say whenever the Undertaker appeared, "the Wolf is at the Door." I am sure old Shepard must have heard him.

Its a barbarous custom that saddles the already fainting poor with further burdens for the Dead, and mother almost washed herself into the grave paying father's funeral bills.

One day the Undertaker offered to let Bob work out the balance of the bill. He said he'd put up for Bob's bed and meals and mother was too tired to refuse. I remember he made her sign a paper saying Bobbie was over fourteen, and

they both told 'Bob he'd have to say the same thing or the Inspector wouldn't let him work.

It seems to me these Child-Labor-Laws are the craziest jests in the Big Joke Book. "You mustn't work if you are under fourteen", they say; but nobody cares whether we eat or not! A law that says "mustn't" ought to make it possible for a person not to. But there never was a law, so far as I know, that contained that much common sense.

Well, Bobbie went away with the Undertaker and for a time mother cried as if none of us other children was worth thinking about. The first young Piper had been forced out of the "home" nest that was already fast falling apart and the pain of it brought a stony look into mother's eyes; but when Sammie and the baby grew hungry, she forgot about everything but taking care of the rest of us. She didn't even have a day off to be miserable in when father died.

And I have heard folks say working women have no feelings! Would their own sensibilities remain fine, I wonder, with Cold and Hunger pressing ever at their heels ready to seize them if they stopped to think, or weep, or fall ill! Bob would put it, "Poor folks are too busy chasing the elusive Flop and the evasive Meal Ticket to have time for Fancy Feelings!"

At last, of course, the little mother gave up. She had worked several days in the steam filled room with a pain in her chest that kept her face white and drawn, but when the fever came on, she was forced to lie down on the old bed. When she found she was unable to rise, she said over and over again to herself.

"The babies, the babies! O my poor little babies! What can I do!" I made her a cup of tea; fed the younger children and put them to bed.

In the night mother was delirious. She woke me calling for somebody to look after Sammie and screaming for them not to take us away from her. She said she "would soon be able to work again." I ran up stairs and woke Mrs. Nome. Mrs. Nome was a lame old woman who sold shoe strings at the "L" Station. Often she'd send Bobbie to "Mike's" for a can of beer and the Flynn's said she got tipsy and went to sleep on the stairs. I don't know about that. But she was very good to us.

When I told her mother was sick, she hopped down stairs and took charge. It was time somebody did. She was kind to mother for a long time. She didn't wash often; that's true, and she didn't believe in manicurists of any kind. She'd have "lifted" a watch from a rich man with her right hand, and

spent the proceeds on us kiddies with her left, and been proud of it. That's the kind of a woman she was.

Mrs. Nome was almost as poor as we were. She couldn't feed five hungry waifs, nurse the mother and sell shoe strings. But she stuck to the little mother and assumed command. The wood was nearly gone; the rent was due and we had nothing to eat in the room, but Mrs. Nome was a woman of resources. Since she couldn't feed and warm us herself, she used the materials at hand. She just wrapped me up in a shawl and put one of Bob's old coats on little Sammie and hustled us up to a corner on the boulevard to beg.

We were hungry, Sammie and I, and all the other children were hungry too. Mrs. Nome chose to send Sammie because he was such a pale, wee little imp she thought nobody could turn him down. She said nobody but a "Charity woman" would do it. I know now that she meant the "Scientific Charity Worker" who is hired to nose around the shacks of the poor, hunting for evidence that will enable the charity officials to pronounce the verdict unworthy, from which there is no Appeal, upon the miserable ones. But I'll tell about them later on.

Mrs. Nome knew I'd take care of the kid. I suppose Sammie and I made a pretty pair, as we stood on the corner of a fashionable quarter, huddling as close together as we could and muffling our hands beneath the coat and shawl to keep warm. It was snowing and blowing the typical Chicago January gale and Sammie wept like a leaky drain, audibly and in a way that Mrs. Nome would have said was worth a bank account. His toes stuck from the holes in his shoes, and my stockings were a match for them. We were purple with the cold in ten minutes.

The first well-dressed man that passed, stopped and asked me what Sammie was crying for.

"He's hungry," I said. And my lips quivered and the tears started to my eyes. "So am I." I was very much frightened. Mrs. Nome had cautioned me to look out for the "muggs" and I knew that meant dangerous ground. But the man gave us half a dollar and made us promise to go home. Then he hurried on his way. Sammie brightened up when he saw the money, but when he found it didn't mean dinner, he resumed his wails and would not be comforted.

A stream of well-clad men began to flow steadily from the station toward the great apartment houses on the boulevard, and nearly everybody tossed us a quarter or a dime. Sammie kept up his accompaniment of woe. Mrs. Nome said he was great "Beggars' Capital."

The wind blew the sleet and snow down our necks and

it cut our faces like glass. The men passing were too eager to gain shelter in the big houses to pause and question us in the storm. They tossed us the first coins they found in their pockets and hurried on.

Nobody asked where we lived and I had no need of the story Mrs. Nome had invented.

"Don't never let them Charity people know where ye live," she said, "Er they'll be down en takin' all you kiddies away from yer maw en sendin' ye to the 'Friendless'. Tell 'em yer name's Jones, Mary Jones, en thet ye live in the Alley. Don't never say nothin' about the Dump."

But nobody asked and by and by I sat down in the snow by Sammie and cried too, till Mrs. Nome came to the rescue and took us home.

My pocket was half filled with quarters and dimes. Old "Granny" took us into a saloon where she counted them. We had \$4.75 altogether and she said Sammie was "sure a winner." Her breath smelled strongly of whiskey but she was very kind. And when we got home she made us a supper of stewed rabbit fit for the President. She put the money away for us carefully in her old bag and never spent one penny on herself.

That night she sat up taking care of the little mother.

It is apparent that Old Granny Nome believed in making hay while the sun shone. The day after Sammie and I were initiated into the ways of the beggar fraternity and landed \$4.75, the snow continued. Again she conducted us to a fashionable quarter during the dinner hour and again Sammie's tears affected the well-to-dos to the tune of handsome returns. My fears were in abeyance this time and I grew bolder with the happy result of putting the Piper family \$5.25 ahead in the game. We began to eat regularly once more.

Mrs. Nome was always worried with fear of the Charity Organization Society. It seems they'd have shoved her into the poor house long before had it not been for the inevitable shoe strings which she hawked. They could never catch her asleep. Always she patently vended her small wares. As there was nobody to prove she didn't earn her own living it was impossible to chuck her away on the County and she remained a lasting eyesore to "Scientific Charity."

Every outcast on the Dump was her ally and she served us all unaccountable good turns. Equally true were the Rich her bane and her abomination. And unbelievable too were the many small ways she found to beat them.

The days passed and she stuck to the helm of the Piper household, nursing the little mother through long nights of pain and feeding us children like a hen-mother come into her

own. The rent was paid; we children were clothed and mother was supplied with medicine. Sammie continued to wail disconsolately every time we went out on business and I had advanced to the point where I did not try to comfort him.

We were never out long; we always worked on a new corner and invariably at the dinner hour when everybody was in a hurry to get home. By this time we lived riotously and ate three meals a day. And there were eight round silver dollars tucked away for the Piper family in an old pasteboard box in the cupboard. No wonder we all learned to love Granny!

But all good things come to an end. Sammie and I met our finish when we ran into Charles K. Copperthwaite, Superintendent of the Board of Organized Charities. A smug Board of Trade man had just given us a quarter and was hurrying away when up comes Old Copperthwaite. It was the very end. I had six dollars in my pocket when he started out to take us home and "investigate." He counted them.

I'll tell about Copperthwaite later on. Just here he turned on the flashlights and wrote us up in the papers. He roasted the people who had given us money instead of paying it to the Charity Organizations for "investigating" us, and he boosted his own particular organization way up and over. He proved that we had eight dollars in cash in the basement when Sammie and I went out to "impose on a noble-hearted but careless-minded Public."

And then he sent Katie and Tim to the Home for the Friendless and persuaded Mrs. Chauncey Van Kleeck to take me into "her beautiful home" as a watch-dog for her baby, for my board, clothes and schooling. You can go into the Office of the Bureau to this day and read how "charitable" Mrs. Van. was; and see the notes she sent in to the officers every month reporting the moral progress and ability to work shown by the little "beggar."

Copperthwaite got all the philanthropically inclined society ladies to "take such an interest" in mother that before she could raise her head off her pillow, she was nearly smothered with family washings — which the dear ladies sent her out of the kindness of their hearts — at half the rates usually paid for such work. "It will enable her," said Copperthwaite in the papers, "to maintain an honest living and keep the two younger children at home." Then he painted a halo around the heads of the financially elect, and I suppose the society ladies glowed with virtue when they read the papers, thinking they saw themselves as others see them.

MARY E. MARCY.

(To be continued).

The Alcohol Question.

Address Delivered by Comrade E. Wurm at The National Convention of The Social Democratic Party of Germany.



IN DEFINING our position in regard to the alcohol question it will not suffice to assert the one point upon which we all agree,—that the excessive consumption of alcohol is a vice which must be eradicated,—but it will also be necessary to consider the question of total abstinence. For total abstinence may be commendable if what Professor Bunge has asserted be true: that “we human beings cannot be moderate.”

Modern hygiene and the modern social sciences are devoting much attention to the alcohol question, as may be seen from the fact that an index of publications on the alcohol question, just issued by the Academy of Sciences, covers no less than 500 pages. Whether all consumption of alcohol is harmful or whether it becomes harmful only where consumed in larger quantities, whether total abstinence is necessary or whether moderation, temperance, are sufficient, those are problems which can, of course, not be solved by a party convention. The investigation of such problems is not the task of laymen but the task of science. But unfortunately our decision is greatly hampered by the fact that some men of science proclaim total abstinence to be necessary, while others do not consider it necessary to refrain from alcoholic drinks entirely. In order to be able to appreciate the opinions of the physiologists, it will be necessary to acquaint ourselves with the properties of alcohol.

What is alcohol? Alcohol is produced of sugar through a process of fermentation. The sugar becomes dissolved in a liquid solution into alcohol and carbonic acid. What we buy, is never pure alcohol but is always diluted with water. Even the strongest kind of whiskey must contain at least 40 per cent of water; without water alcohol becomes undrinkable. But no matter to what extent the alcohol is diluted, its effect upon the human organism is always the same, an effect that is usually misunderstood by laymen. The effect is an enfeebling one, and what seems to us a stimulating influence, is merely a deception of the senses. The alcohol, in circulating through the system, paralyzes the nerves. The blood-vessels become expanded; the skin becomes reddened. The flow of the blood is quickened and is brought into greater

contact with the surface of the skin and with the lower external atmosphere. Therefore alcoholic beverages really make the body colder instead of warming it. In the first instant they give us a pleasant sensation of warmth, but soon we feel the cold more keenly than before, and it is a fact that death by freezing is hastened by them. It is also due to deceptive appearances if we believe ourselves to be strengthened by the consumption of alcohol. The sudden warmth simply creates a feeling of well-being, similar to what we feel after having appeased our hunger, and this feeling makes us believe that we have been satiated by the alcohol, though it really contributes almost nothing to our sustenance. The influence of alcohol on the mental faculties is also of a paralyzing nature, although, in our consciousness, it takes the form of an animating influence. The drinker becomes careless, courageous; he no longer realizes danger. It is not a matter of chance, that the whiskey habit expanded in Germany during the terrible wars of the middle ages. Alcohol was employed to lash the battling hordes to greater venturesomeness, just as it is used in Russia to-day when man is driven against man. The sensation of weariness is not relieved by alcohol; we merely become oblivious of it. Alcohol does not produce strength, as many still unfortunately believe, it only acts like the lash, driving without strengthening. This is equally true of both physicial and mental exertions. This effect is still heightened by heating the drinks or mixing them with carbonic acid which acts upon the mucous membrane of the stomach in such a manner that the alcohol becomes more rapidly assimilated. But the most determining factor in regard to the effect of alcohol is the condition of the stomach itself. The effect is far less serious upon a full stomach than upon an empty one.

The dangerous results of excessive consumption of alcohol are well known to all of you. The effects are firstly, of a personal, and secondly, of a social nature. Various diseases are the immediate result of intemperance. Hoarseness and coughs are early symptoms; the inner organs fail to perform their functions normally; debility of the digestive organs is especially frequent. Drinkers, as a rule, do not enjoy their food and in consequence thereof drink still more. Through improper action of the stomach the danger of poisoning by metals, for instance lead poisoning, is increased. The drinking of beer in large quantities is apt to bring about an expansion of the heart, and this again may lead to various other diseases. Kidney and liver troubles are frequent, and the nervous system invariably suffers. The consumption of alcohol lowers the vitality and labor power, and diminishes the laborer's chance to escape injury.

That the effects of alcohol are harmful cannot be doubted by any reasonable person. The question but remains whether these

effects only result in some cases, or whether every drop of alcohol that passes our lips is really equivalent to poison. Professors Hueppe and Binz emphatically declare that their thorough investigations and experiments convinced them, that the consumption of alcohol becomes harmful only at a certain stage, but that this stage varies with different individuals. Just as with contagious diseases the danger of their extension depends on the one hand upon the presence of germs while, on the other hand it depends upon the disposition of the individual, so also the effect of alcohol depends both on the quantity consumed and on the physical and mental condition of the consumer. According to scientific investigations the limit for the consumption of alcohol in a normal adult must be drawn at $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 ounce in 24 hours. Below this limit there will be no poisonous effects but,—let it be asserted again,—this limit applies only to the healthy well nourished adult person who is not suffering from either physical or mental over exertion. But even such a person should not venture to risk the limit day by day. The above figures refer to pure alcohol only. We must therefore briefly consider the percentage of alcohol contained in various alcoholic beverages:

The oldest drink, as old as the history of man, is wine; wine, which has often been enthusiastically praised as the dispeller of care and sorrow. Semitic tribes first introduced wine among other peoples, and gradually it has triumphantly invaded every land. Most kinds of wine contain 9 to 12 percent of alcohol, while the sweet Hungarian and Spanish wines contain 20 percent of alcohol and 6 percent of sugar.

Beer might be called the younger brother of wine. Since two thousand years it has been prepared from grain that by germinating, malting, transformed its starch into sugar. Even the ancient Egyptians brewed a kind of beer called Pelusium. From Egypt beer was introduced into Europe. Early in the twelfth century the monasteries introduced it in every quarter of Germany, and in the sixteenth century we find Luther raging against the curse of beer. That seemed like a contradiction to his well known saying: "Who loves not woman, wine and song, remains a fool his whole life long"; and therefore some people assert that Luther just condemned beer because he preferred wine. But other historians have tried to prove that Luther only condemned intemperance. At one time beer was considered a nourishing article of food, but this assumption must be emphatically contradicted. Beer contains hardly any albumen. The only nourishing property it does contain is the sugar; but we pay far too high a price for that. As an article of food beer is entirely too expensive, for one quart of beer only contains as much sugar as there is starch contained in two small rolls of bread, and it only contains as much albumen as one roll.

The third brother, the wicked brother among alcoholic drinks, is whiskey. Originally whiskey was the product of a distillation of wine, that was prepared by alchemists during the early part of the middle age. It was believed that whiskey could animate all the spirits of life, and therefore it had been called "aqua vitae," (water of life). This water of life, that has destroyed so many lives, has, since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, also been produced in such countries as possessed no wine. It has been distilled from fermented grain, mainly rye, as we see from the term rye-whiskey. The production of rye-whiskey was originally carried on upon a small scale, but since the last century it has tremendously increased. But this increase was not entirely due to the capitalistic mode of production. It was the result of an increased demand, brought about by that awful devastation which the wars wrought in Germany. Poverty and misery have from the first accompanied the production of whiskey, and poverty and misery have accompanied it until the present day. The production of alcoholic drinks has not created a demand for them, but economic conditions created this demand and the increased production strove to meet it. After potatoes had been introduced as an article of food, it was found that a fermenting beverage could be distilled from potatoes also, and so potato whiskey was produced which has played such a destructive part. It is not a mere matter of chance that the whiskey-curse greatly increased after the Napoleonic wars. Germany, and especially Prussia, enjoys the lamentable reputation of having poisoned the whole world with its potato whiskey. Moreover the great land-owners in Prussia were given ample opportunity, due to their reactionary laws,—of obtaining the funds for operating their distilleries from the poorest of the poor, the toiling peasants.

Whiskey has been shown to contain 40 to 50 percent of alcohol.

What then is the limit for the temperate consumption of alcohol of which I have spoken before? Expressed in practical terms we might say that a normal, adult person may drink daily, without harm to himself, 1 to 2 pints of beer, $\frac{1}{2}$ pint to 1 pint of wine, and two to three ounces of whiskey.

But it must always be remembered that this limit is applicable only to an absolutely normal and healthy person. There are people whose constitution is able to withstand such an amount of alcohol. But just those strata of society that chiefly resort to alcoholic stimulants to animate their failing forces, are the very ones which are not healthy and normal. They are underfed, over tired, weakened in body and crushed in spirits, and therefore have less power of resistance. So the choice between temperance and total abstinence becomes an individual question. To determine the proper course for himself each individual must study his own

nature to assure himself of his proper limit, and besides he must study his social environment; he must examine whether outward influences do not affect him in such a manner, that his power of resistance is weakened. Nourishment, occupation, age and sex must be taken into consideration. There are masses of people who owing to their unfavorable economic position and social environment, ought to avoid alcohol altogether. It is unfortunately true that just those classes who, by outward influences, are driven to the consumption of alcohol, are the very ones who ought to avoid it, because it has a most destructive influence upon them. One of the greatest crimes that parents can commit is to give alcohol in any form to their children. Nevertheless we are not justified in condemning such parents. Why is it that so many babes are soothed by a rubber nipple that has been dipped in whiskey? If we investigate the causes we will find that such unreasonable means of keeping the babies quiet are employed mainly by mothers who are obliged to go out working or to take work home, and who therefore have no time to care for their children. Moreover most parents are ignorant of the great danger that lurks in alcoholic drinks. What is true in regard to children, is also true in regard to very young people.

Now you may ask whether, in view of the dangers described above, it would not be wiser to declare for total abstinence. The reason why I and many others who share my point of view do not join the movement against alcoholism, is because we know that the causes which drive people to alcoholism to-day can most effectively be combated and eventually exterminated by the political activity of the Socialist Party. Our activity is far more beneficent than all well meant sermons and exhortations. The assertion that "we human beings cannot be moderate" is not true. Of course there are many people who cannot control their passion for drink otherwise than by adhering to total abstinence, and who then compensate for that self denial by some other bad habit, for instance by incessant smoking. Others again become total abstainers for the expressed purpose of setting a worthy example to others. But they are mistaken if they believe their good intention to be an effective method; for the economic conditions by which people are impelled to drink are more powerful than the most brilliant example. We are told: "How can you claim that intemperance is a result of economic conditions? Are you not aware that among the class in possession the evil of drink exists to the same, nay, even to a greater extent than among the laboring class?" They who bring forth this argument forget that economic conditions produce not only physical but also intellectual want, and that even those in possession suffer by the extremes of modern conditions. Mental emptiness has taken possession of the ruling class also, and they too feel the want of deceiving themselves and

of seeking oblivion in drink. Those "respectable gentlemen" who destroy their brains by the means of costly wines are not a bit better than they who are driven to alcoholism by material want, but neither are they less pardonable.

But we, as a political party, need not study the idle portion of the populace but its working portion. We must seek the causes which during the present manner of toil create that increasing degree of physical and mental want. We must investigate the reasons which incite the masses of toilers to alcoholism. One of the main causes may be laid to exhaustion by overwork. We all agree on that point. Even people who do not pay much attention to social factors admit that overwork causes a craving for alcoholic stimulants. Another cause is that extreme mental fatigue which is produced by the fact that in modern industry "the laborer is but an appendage to the machine", as Marx has expressed it. A third and very vital cause may be found in the numerous unfavorable conditions surrounding the worker during the performance of his work, conditions for which the employers of labor and the government are to be blamed. Firstly, there are those industries in which thirst is systematically created by the prevailing dust. We frequently hear the employers in such industries boldly declare: you must not consume alcoholic drinks. But they do not make any endeavors to provide their laborers with cooling drinks that are free from alcohol, or to improve the conditions in such a manner that they do not suffer from constant thirst. Such was the case in regard to the manufacture of cement. For tens of years we demanded proper ventilation of cement factories, but to no avail, until an engineer made the discovery that the dust which filled the air could, when drawn out by proper ventilation, be manufactured into a well paying product. At that time I questioned in the Reichstag, whether the laborers in the cement factories were now going to be fined for the dust which they had inhaled free of charge all these years. Some time ago there was an exhibition for the welfare of labor in Charlottenburg. There we were shown coal lungs, lead-lungs, stone-lungs,—all of them lungs which had at one time belonged to sturdy laborers but which had been systematically destroyed by mine and factory dust because employers will spend no money for so unremunerative a thing as the welfare of their employees, and because the state does not give sufficient protection. Therefore we demand not only that the laborers in all the dust creating industries should be furnished with nonintoxicating drinks, but we also demand such improvements as will diminish the dust. In various other industries the laborers are greatly troubled by thirst on account of the high temperature in which they are obliged to toil. Glass blowers, for instance, must drink about five quarts of water daily. But this large quantity of water does not agree with them, interferes

with their digestion and causes them to perspire to an unusual degree. So they take to alcoholic drinks. In their case too then it will be necessary not only to furnish them with soft drinks, but also to improve the ventilation and to shorten the hours of labor. Still more causes leading to the drink habit are found in those industries that produce nauseating odors and poisonous gases, and cause the laborer to suffer from chronic poisoning such as lead poisoning, mercury poisoning, etc. Although alcohol is the very worst thing for a person suffering from lead poisoning, those so afflicted still resort to it to deaden the excruciating pains from which they suffer. The extremes of heat and cold to which the laborers in many trades are exposed, is yet another cause that leads to intemperance. Miners, laborers in quarries, masons, builders, steel laborers, truckmen, motor-men etc., they all are ruthlessly exposed to all kinds of weather. In all these cases shorter hours of labor and improvement of hygienic conditions would long since have done more than thousands of speeches against alcoholism could accomplish.

I have already said that alcohol has a worse effect upon an empty stomach than a full one and that an empty stomach increases the craving for alcohol. But underfeeding is the immediate result of low wages and of the rise in cost of all articles of food. As far back as 1860, a pioneer in the science of physiology, the great Justus von Liebig, wrote: "The whiskey habit is not the cause of poverty but its result. Only in exceptional cases a well nourished man becomes a victim of this habit. But the man who by his toil cannot earn sufficient to buy food of such quality and in such quantity, that his labor power can be maintained, he will be forced by an inexorable law of nature to resort to the whiskey bottle."—The laborer's daily fare is not only of poor quality due to the high price of wholesome food, it is also usually poorly prepared and so he is doubly tempted to take alcoholic drinks with his meals. The inadequate preparation of food is of course accounted for by the overworked condition of the laborer's wife and by the fact that in numerous cases she too is employed as a bread-winner. It is also due to the omission on the part of our schools to give some instruction in the science of proper nourishment. Professor Bunge has rightly said: "most people are obliged to eat unpalatable food. This absence of satisfaction to our organs of taste and smell by which the whole nervous system is affected, creates a craving for unnatural stimulants. Our food ought to be a pleasant stimulant in itself. Partaking of one's daily food should be a pleasure; each meal a feast!" If such could be the case then we might be able to banish the demon of alcohol entirely; but until then, preaching against it will be of little avail. Many laborers are practically forced to drink alcoholic bever-

ages, by being obliged to take their meals in a saloon. Therefore we demand in connection with factories and workshops resting-rooms for the working-men, where they may take their noon-day meal in peace. We also demand the establishment of pleasure resorts for the working classes where they will not be required to partake of intoxicating drinks. For if after a long, exhausting day's work a worn out laborer can find no other place of recreation but a saloon, he will eventually become incapable of all mental activity, of reading a book or a newspaper or attending a lecture, and will merely stagger from one day of toil to another through the oblivion afforded by alcohol.

Total abstainers lay special stress on the power of self education and on the effectiveness of exhortations and good examples. But the actual effectiveness of these methods has not been proven. One case frequently pointed to is that of the Irish priest, Father Mathew, who is credited for having gained such a powerful influence by his passionate exhortations, that the consumption of alcohol in Ireland greatly diminished, and that during the three years, 1838-1842, the number of crimes was reduced from 12,096 to 773. But the true cause of this improvement was not an ethical but an economic cause. Ireland had at that time suffered a great famine due to the failure of the potato crops, and this famine called forth a number of crimes, most of the "crimes" being that the starving peasants became desperate and stole the potatoes from their landlords. When the British government then came to the support of the famine stricken people and the terrible want gradually diminished, drunkenness and crime also diminished accordingly. But the effect was of course not a permanent one as even those who favor total abstinence sadly admit. New want called forth new drunkenness and crime. For want and drunkenness are closely,—we might say inseparably,—connected.

There is also an undeniable connection between alcoholism and accidents. But this connection is greatly exaggerated by those who claim that most accidents occur on Monday, because many laborers are still under the pernicious influence of alcoholic drinks consumed on Sunday. Actual statistics show not Monday but Saturday to be that day of the week upon which most accidents occur, because the toiler's weariness is greatest at the end of a week's work. Nevertheless it must be asserted that alcohol heightens the danger to life and limb to which the workingman is frequently exposed, and it is a misfortune to the worker if he has accustomed himself to taking alcoholic drinks while at work. We would therefore not oppose a measure that would forbid the consumption of whiskey and limit the consumption of all alcoholic beverage during labor hours; but only under the condition that employers would be compelled to furnish their employees with suitable soft drinks. In some national and municipal employments

the custom has already been introduced to furnish the employees with coffee, tea, milk, seltzerwater and lemonade at low rates, and among such employees the consumption of beer and liquor has greatly diminished. Alcohol should never be used as a lash to stimulate a weakened, overworked body. But it may be used with moderation, as one of the pleasures of life, by people who are normally healthy and well nourished.

Statistics are sometimes abused in an attempt to hold alcoholism accountable for all evils. This is being done by those who try to prove the connection between alcoholism and crime. Not every criminal who is at the same time a drunkard has been driven to crime by drunkenness. Frequently a man possessing criminal tendencies is also afflicted with a craving for alcoholic drinks, just as he may be afflicted with various other vices. People that possess abnormal qualities, degenerates, are inclined to become both drunkards and criminals, and even normal, healthy human beings are sometimes driven to drunkenness and crime by the social conditions that surround them. The diminishing capability of mothers to nurse their babes, has also been accounted for by the evil influence of alcohol upon the physical condition of the mothers. But here too we may point out that alcoholic drinks are not as much to be blamed as social conditions, which leave laboring women unaided during pregnancy and child-birth. Many mothers and their babies might be rescued by providing adequate support for laboring women some time before and after the birth of a child, so that the mother might be rested and well nourished and accordingly able to give sufficient nourishment to their children.

Let us briefly consider the relation of the alcohol question to legislation. As a political party we must take special care to show our colors clearly in regard to all questions of legislation. Therefore we must rigorously oppose the foolish, dangerous assertion that the consumption of alcohol is diminished by raising the tax on whiskey and all alcoholic drinks. As the alcohol becomes more expensive, those laboring classes that are driven to its use only become obliged to lower their standard of living. Thereby the effect of the alcohol only becomes more dreadful, as long as the causes that favor alcoholism remain unchanged. To increase the cost of liquor means to injure the poorest of the poor. It must be considered an improvement in the standard of living when workingmen abandon whiskey for beer. If, therefore, the tax levied on beer is high, if the beer becomes expensive and poor in quality; the only result obtained is an increase in the consumption of whiskey. To abolish the tax on beer and wine would help to combat alcoholism. We cannot approve of the system existing in Russia where whiskey is produced by private manufacture but is sold by the government only. Neither has the

government monopoly for the production of liquor as held by Switzerland had the desired effect, although it contains the provision that one tenth of the resulting income is to be used to combat the excessive consumption of alcohol. It is a wrong system which first levies a tax upon the poor and unfortunate, and then takes a portion of the money drawn from them to combat alcoholism. The system prevalent in some American states forbidding the sale of alcohol, does not meet with our approval either. Smuggling and drinking in concealment are hereby favored. England's dry Sundays have shown us what results are obtained by forbidding the open sale of alcoholic drinks, people simply drink at home, and drink even more than they would at the saloons. Equally unreasonable is the suggestion not to permit the saloons to be opened before 8 A. M. In that event the laborer would simply carry away a bottle in his pocket every evening. We must even condemn the principle of local option for which the English Labor Party stands. Local option means that each municipality is to decide for itself whether the sale of intoxicating drinks should be permitted or not. That would only lead to an unnecessary struggle within the municipalities, and would increase secret intemperance. Our comrades in Finland are endeavoring to bring about a law that will simply forbid both production and sale of all alcoholic drinks. If it be considered advisable to combat alcohol in itself, as a thing apart from social conditions, then this radical suggestion seems the only efficacious one. We only hope our Finnish friends may not learn from experience that smuggling will maintain alcohol among them anyhow.

What we demand in the war waged upon alcohol, is that we should employ all our power of political and industrial organization to abolish the causes that produce alcoholism. We must use our influence in the municipal administrations to bring about model institutions: rest rooms for laborers, pleasure resorts, where they will not be obliged to partake of intoxicating drinks, ample opportunity for obtaining cheap and wholesome non-alcoholic beverages; and so forth. Furthermore we must see to it that our schools instruct and enlighten the children on these matters as well as the parents of the school-children. I especially welcome the fact that our young people's Socialistic organization has adopted a strong resolution against alcoholism. The young workers must foster the power within themselves to resist the temptations of alcohol. I also welcome the fact that our labor unions have commenced a rigorous campaign against the abuses of alcoholism, and are laying stress upon the instruction and enlightenment of their members. The masons and carpenters were the first to forbid the serving of intoxicating drinks at their meetings, and at a conference of bricklayers it was resolved to

favor total abstinence. Other labor unions have expressed themselves in a similar manner. We see from this that much good is being accomplished in Germany by means of industrial organization, and we feel convinced that our labor unions will continue this struggle against alcoholism, the only reasonable one, which is founded upon an improvement of the conditions of labor and instruction of the masses.

Before closing I wish to add a word concerning the attitude taken by our comrades in other countries in regard to the alcohol question: Our Swiss comrades have adopted the following plank in their platform: We resolve to combat alcoholism; we demand such employment of the tenth of the alcohol tax set aside for this purpose as will give the best support to workingmen and their organizations in making them independent of the saloon, i. e., the construction of public pleasure resorts, assembly halls and reading-rooms. In Sweden our comrades have organized the Verdandi Society which has a membership of 20,000 and has declared for total abstinence. In their national convention the Swedish Socialists demanded that their public schools should furnish instruction in regard to the dangers of alcohol. The Norwegian national Socialist convention of 1906 resolved to demand a tax to be levied on beer, wine and whiskey, the amount of the tax on each to be determined by the amount of alcohol contained therein; it resolved furthermore to demand a strong limitation of the sale of all alcoholic beverages. The party in Finland,—as already mentioned,—stands for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of all alcoholic drinks. In Belgium our "maisons du peuple" (co-operative establishments) have received orders from party headquarters to discontinue the sale of liquor. That has been carried out effectively. In England the Labor Party stands for local option. In Holland our comrades, at their convention of 1897, have declared themselves in full sympathy with the endeavors to combat alcoholism, and our Austrian comrades in 1903 likewise adopted a resolution against alcoholism.

We then can do no better than to continue along the path we have taken, and by combatting all the evils of modern society, we can also combat this one specific outward symptom of diseased conditions. But we do not admit that the alcohol question can be treated by itself, without taking into consideration social conditions of which it is a part. To combat this one symptom alone would be as absurd as if we should combat tuberculosis without endeavoring to remove its social causes. They who believe that the danger of tuberculosis can be eliminated by merely keeping the work-shops well supplied with cuspidors are simply to be pitied for their blindness in not being able to see the connection between social conditions and tuberculosis; and the same is true

of alcoholism. Good examples and well meant exhortations may influence some individuals here and there; but the great mass of people can only be raised by improving their economic conditions. Give the people enough to eat, give them sanitary dwellings, give them freedom! Then they will be prepared to drive hence the demon of alcohol.

(Translated from the German by Hebe.)

The National Convention and the Woman's Movement.



WE ARE DRAWING near to a national convention of the Socialist Party when we are to nominate our candidates for president and vice-president, and draw up the national platform. However, this is not all that will be done in this meeting. Resolutions will be introduced pertaining to practically every question of economic interest to the working class. Among these will be resolutions on the attitude of the party toward trade-unions, the negro problem, child labor, and a great many other important subjects.

The problem I wish to discuss in this article is the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the woman's movement. It makes very little difference whether we approve of a separate organization of Socialist women or not. We have one — a real, live, revolutionary movement, writing its own literature, managing its own newspapers, planning its own campaign.

It does not have the same name in every state or even in every city. In Philadelphia it is the Socialist Woman's Educational Club, in California, the Woman's Socialist Club; in New York City, Socialist Women of Greater New York. This city is the home also of the Woman's National Progressive League. In Chicago there is the Woman's Socialist League; in St. Louis the Woman's Socialist Club, while in Kansas City we have the Woman's Progressive League. And so I might go on through all of the states and territories of the nation, naming the cities and towns with their respective clubs.

It is one movement with one mind, one spirit, one thought, one object: "the purpose of stimulating and crystallizing interest among women in economic questions with the view of creating adherents to the principles of Socialism."

How are we men and women of the Socialist Party organization going to act toward this movement? What will our delegates in the National Convention do if they receive a resolution similar to the one presented by the Social Democratic Woman's Society of N. Y., at a meeting at which Mrs. Cobden Sanderson delivered a lecture on "Socialism and Wo-

man?" The part of this resolution that is of special interest to us reads as follows:

"Whereas, The Socialist Party is the political expression of the working class in the United States, be it

"Resolved, By this mass meeting of men and women of New York, that we call upon the National Committee of the Socialist Party to start an energetic fight for equal suffrage for men and women 21 years of age; to put women organizers in the field with same end in view, and to distribute leaflets and literature dealing with this subject."

First, we must realize that this movement is a separate organization composed largely of women who are not members of the Socialist Party. This will prevent us from falling into, what I believe to be, the error that the Missouri State Convention did in 1906. To give the reader a clearer idea of what I mean, I will quote from the report of the proceedings of this meeting as printed in the St. Louis "Labor," Saturday, June 9, 1906.

"The report of Committee on Propaganda was received and taken up seriatim....."

"We recommend that special efforts be made to place propaganda literature in all Women's Clubs, Equal Suffrage Societies and conventions in order that these earnest, enthusiastic and intelligent women may know and understand that the eight short words embodied in the Socialist National Platform — 'For the equal suffrage of men and women' cover the whole ground, and express in plain language what the old parties have evaded and juggled with ever since women have demanded equal suffrage." On motion it was adopted.

"We recommend that special attention be given to youths and children, as in a few years the duties of citizenship will fall upon their shoulders. The propaganda work can be interesting, instructive and also a source of income by means of entertainments, literary and debating societies; always selecting subjects pertaining directly toward a better education in the principles of Socialism. To this end we favor the formation of Junior Socialist Leagues to take charge of this work in connection with the regular organization.

"The motion to adopt this recommendation was amended that it be received and, together with the Woman Suffrage recommendation previously adopted, be referred to the Women's Socialist Clubs in the state. Motion was adopted as amended." Just how the Socialist Party organization can refer any of its business to other organizations not under its jurisdiction, I have never been quite able to understand.

Second, we must realize that these Woman's Clubs cannot do our work. Their work is to sow the seeds of Socialism. They are the "St. John" "crying in the wilderness." In answer to Mrs. Wilshire's "Appeal to Women" in Wilshire's, January, 1907, I closed my letter which was published in the March number of that magazine with the following: "I am very much opposed to forming a separate organization for women. I would be just as much opposed to forming a separate organization for men. Every Socialist should be in the organization. We must work together. To divide our ranks would mean an opening for the enemy. We should always keep in mind the one object, the building up of the Socialist organization." However, I see no danger in this woman's movement. The women who are leading it belong to the Socialist Party and well understand the meaning of the words, "Workers of the world unite." They are sowing the seeds and all ready "The harvest truly is great." Will the Socialist Party furnish the "laborers" so "that both he that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together?" As a member of both organizations, this question is of the greatest interest to me. I am not asking it of the men or the women but of the party as a whole. We need workers and they should be women with the ability not only of teaching the women what the word Socialism means but also of bringing into the party those who already know its meaning, but who, for one reason or another, stay out. This is a work that the Woman's Movement cannot do.

In conclusion, I suggest that the National Party in its convention take up this matter, and "establish in connection with the party a National Committee of Women to be charged with this special work," as Comrade Spargo suggested in his article in the February number of this magazine. I believe the Woman's Movement will gladly co-operate with it in **furnishing the funds to carry on this movement.**

JESSIE M. MOLLE.

The Economic Aspects of the Negro Problem.

CHAPTER II.

SLAVERY IN A REPUBLIC.

(Continued.)



THE NEW SCHOOL of writers, thinkers and statesmen which arose under these conditions, vastly differed from the school of Jefferson and Henry. It did not try to excuse slavery by considerations of economic necessity. It would not even permit the expression of the faint hope, that sometimes in the dim future the institution of slavery might be abolished.

"Let me not be understood", says the famous Calhoun, "as admitting even by implication that the existing relation between the two races in the slaveholding states is an evil; far otherwise, I hold it to be a good, as it has thus far proved itself to both, and will continue to prove so if not disturbed by the spirit of abolition. I appeal to facts: Never has the black race of the Central Africa..... attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually. It came among us in a low, degraded and savage condition, and in the course of a few generations it has grown under the fostering care of our institutions." Here the slave-owners are made to appear in the strange role of what the Germans have called "Kulturtraeger", carrying the white man's burden. That slavery could have a harmful effect upon the slaveowner, which was almost universally admitted by the foremost statesmen of the end of the Eighteenth Century, Calhoun violently denied. "I appeal to all sides whether the South is not equal in virtue, in intelligence, patriotism, courage, disinterestedness, and all the high qualities which adorn our nature. I ask whether we have not contributed our full share of talents and political wisdom in framing and sustaining this political fabric."

No less interesting is Calhoun's opinion in regard to the problem of proximity of the races and its effects, interesting mainly because of the very different opinions which are held in the South at present.

"I hold", says Calhoun, "that in the present state of civilization, where two races of different origin and distinguished by color, and other physical differences, as well as intellectual, are brought together, the relations now existing in the slaveholding south between the two is, instead of an evil, a good, a positive good."

Further on Calhoun becomes quite radical: "I hold then, that there never has yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not in point of fact, live on the labor of the other..... I may say with truth that in few countries so much is left to the share of the laborer and so little is exacted from him, or where there is more kind attention paid to him in sickness or infirmities of age. Compare his condition with the tenants of the poorhouses in the more civilized portions of Europe,—look at the sick, and the old and infirm slave on one hand, in the midst of his family and friends, under the kind superintending care of his master and mistress, and compare it with the forlorn and wretched condition of the pauper in the poorhouse..... The existing relations between the two races in the South form a most solid and durable foundation on which to rear free and stable political institutions.There is and always has been in an advanced stage of wealth and civilization a conflict between capital and labor. The conditions of society in the South exempts us from the disorders and dangers resulting from the conflict; and which explains why it is that the political conditions of the slaveholding states has been so much more stable and quiet than that of the North."

But Calhoun knew that the fathers thought and spoke differently, and therefore he boldly proceeded to destroy the old gods: "Many in the South once believed, that it was a moral and political evil. That folly and delusion are gone." And again pointing at the struggle of capital and labor, he continued: "The southern states are an aggregate in fact of communities, not of individuals. Every plantation is a little community, with the master at his head, who concentrates in himself, the united interests of capital and labor, of which he is the common representative. These small communities aggregated make the South, in all whose actions labor and capital is equally represented and perfectly harmonized. Hence the harmony, the unity, the stability of that section..... the blessings of this state of things extends beyond the limits of the south."

From the preceding pages some conception might have been formed of the southern society on the eve of the emancipation of the slaves. But the first seventy years of the exist-

ence of the republic did not fail to leave a great impression upon the negro race as well. Notwithstanding the efforts to suppress all intellectual growth of the negro, such growth was taking place nevertheless. It is true, that it was very unequally distributed, being mainly limited to the domestic slaves. Unconsciously the civilization of the masters, such as it was, permeated the surrounding negroes. Notwithstanding all the restrictions, some negroes learned to read. The intense religious feeling, which was brought over from Africa, helped the development of high moral virtues in some individuals, and the cases of deep affection towards the owner were not exceptional. But on the other hand, neither were the cases of deep hatred, and the consciousness of the injustices of the slavery system. The preachings of the christian ministers about the justice of slavery, about the lower race and so forth, undoubtedly had a deep effect upon the crude mass of the field negro, and a great many of the negroes probably did not even dream of freedom. But it would be a mistake to suppose that that was the attitude of the entire negro population. Mr. Booker Washington tells us in his autobiography, that even the most ignorant of the negroes watched with deep concern the fortunes of the war and dreamed of freedom. Annually thousands of negroes escaped from the plantation, and the cases were especially frequent among the slaves of the cruel masters. This longing for freedom in the fifties was stronger among the younger generation, than among the old men, was stronger among the educated than among the illiterate, and it was the general observation, that it was stronger with the increased admixture of white blood. For one thing, that admixture decreased the physical difference between master and slaves. And to convince a pretty octoroon, perhaps favored by the caresses of her master, that she was a lower creature intended for a life of slavery, was not an easy task even for a clergyman.

Small wonder, then, that a "literate nigger" became the equivalent of a "bad nigger", a point of view that has survived until the present day in a considerable part of the southern population. The "free nigger" was another disturbing factor in the idyllic relations of the plantation. In the treatment of the latter may be discovered the first traces of the modern phase of the negro problem in distinction to the slavery problem of earlier days.

For many reasons, the number of freed negroes rapidly grew in face of the opposition of the law and public opinion. For notwithstanding all the talk of the natural condition of slavery for the black man, as well as the advantages derived by him from the system, the good southern slaveowner,

whether at death, or at other solemn occasions, knew no better reward for the good and faithful negro than to grant him his liberty. In 1790 there were 37,357 free negroes in the south, and in 1860 261,918, while in the north the number grew from 22,109 to 226,152. This increase may be explained partly by the natural increase, as well as by the liberation of new slaves. Thus the free negroes in the south included in 1860 about 10 per cent of the total negro population and in some states a much greater share.

This freedman was always a sore in the eyes of the slaveowner. He stood there as a living contradiction of all formulas in regard to the natural state of slavery, was a living and dangerous example for each and every intelligent and thoughtful negro who was trying to solve the riddle of his peculiar position. The slaveowner hated the free negro, and he treated him, if possible, worse than he treated his slave. In these relations there was no room for the personal affections, which often softened the severity of the legal position of the negro slave.

"Laws are necessary... to *protect society from even the benevolence of slave owners*, in throwing upon the community a great number of stupid, ignorant, and vicious persons, to disturb its peace and endanger its permanency", was the opinion of a prominent southern jurist. Nevertheless, the effort to do away with this ignorance, stupidity and viciousness by means of education was strictly prohibited in some states and narrowly restricted in others. The social intercourse of slaves and free negroes could prove a source of temptation, and was greatly objected to by the slaveowners. And since a free negro was a harmful, dangerous or at least a suspicious man, it was natural for each southern state to make efforts to restrict the number of such negroes in its territory. With this purpose in view, most southern states prohibited the entrance of free negroes from other states under penalty of being sold into slavery again. Furthermore, in many states the right to set a slave free, was conditioned by the removal of a freedman into another state, so that many negroes were thus forced into the northern states. With the approaching crisis, when the relations between the races were becoming somewhat strained, several southern states passed laws requiring all free negroes to leave the state, under the penalty of being sold into slavery for disobedience.

Under the circumstances there could be no suggestion at actual equality of the freedman and the white man before the law. In most southern states they were, equally with the slaves, subject to the special black code until the very epoch of emancipation. A great many professions and occupations

were closed to them, the right of free assembly and speech was denied to them.

F. L. Olmstead, in his *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, tells a very interesting story of the arrest of 24 negroes in Washington in 1855, (i. e., almost on the eve of the civil war), charged with having held a secret meeting. At the time of the arrest were found: a Bible, Seneca's *Morals*, and the constitution of the secret society, showing that the object of the society was assistance to the sick, and burial of the dead. For this awful crime, a slave member of the society was publicly whipped, four free negroes were committed to the workhouse, and the remaining offenders fined.

It is hardly necessary to add, that the free negroes did not enjoy the most important civil right, the right of voting. Now, the basic law of the English colonies which conferred the franchise upon the entire population, did not include any race discriminations. Therefore the colonies began to pass special laws restricting the voting rights of the negroes as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. During the fundamental constitutional changes, which were caused by the upheaval of the revolutionary era, some southern states as South Carolina, Tennessee, granted the right to vote to the free negroes. But in the twenties and the thirties of the past century there arose a violent opposition to any participation of the negroes in the political life. By the end of the thirties, this right of the free negro had been abolished throughout the south.

Still less could any social equality be expected for the freed negro. Whether a slave or free, he remained a pariah all the same. As Von Halle very appropriately remarks, the southern planter was bent upon convincing the slaves, that by regaining their personal liberty they could not in any way improve their actual condition. Therefore they took all measures to make the existence of the free negro a very unenviable one. And as a natural consequence thereto, the free negro seldom had those kind feelings towards his employer which often lived in the breast of the slave, no matter how unreasonable they seemed to a foreign observer.

On the other hand the southern planters loved to picture the condition of the free negroes in the north in very dark colors, so as to impeach the sincerity of the northern abolition sentiment. It must be admitted that notwithstanding all the agitation in favor of the black brother, the conditions of existence of the free negro even in the north was far from an enviable one.

One of the greatest American jurists of that period, Kent, has stated that only in the state of Maine where the number

of the negroes was very small, were there a few of them, who de facto enjoyed the franchise and civil rights, although as far as the written law was concerned, all the New England states, with the exception of Connecticut, did not recognize any race distinction in the political rights. At various times between 1810 and 1838 the middle Atlantic states deprived the negroes of the rights to vote; and perhaps most significant is the fact that of eighteen western states and central states, which took the part of the north during the war of the rebellion there was not even one which had granted political rights to the negroes before 1861, while two states were even absolutely closed to negroes. Foreign travelers in United States could notice that even in the north the attitude towards the negro was one of mixed contempt and dislike, which did not interfere with the perfectly sincere feeling of pity. Thus Oimstead tells of a negro he had met in Louisiana, who had previously lived in the north, and preferred the South, since in the south he came into closer contact with the white man, since in the north the enforced distance between the races was greater, and insults because of his race more frequent.

What the law aimed at in the South, uncompromising public opinion accomplished just as successfully in the north, and many professions and occupations remained closed to the negroes. All this does not at all contradict the general impression of the sincerity of the Northerners in their demand for the abolition of slavery. But it must be clearly understood, that this demand was caused rather by the economic fear of the extension of the system of slavery, than by any consideration for the humane and civil rights of the negroes.

No doubt, there were many individuals in the north who sincerely treated the negroes as their equals. More than that, as a natural reaction against the unjust treatment of the negroes, the northern abolitionists showed a tendency towards idealizing the negro, and exaggerating his moral virtues. John Brown, Lovejoy, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley, Wendell Phillips, Lucretia Mott, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and dozens of other earnest men and women who stood at the head of the small abolitionist party, with its few thousands of votes,—these were surely moved by the pure feelings of humanity, and learned to look upon the negro as a human being.

“To scorn, insult, brutalize and enslave human beings solely on account of the hue of the skin which it has pleased God to bestow on them; to pronounce them accursed, for no crime on their part, to treat them substantially alike, whether they are virtuous or vicious, refined or vulgar, rich or poor, aspiring or groveling; to be inflamed with madness against

them in proportion as they rise in selfrespect,—this is an act so unnatural that it throws into the shade all other distinctions known among mankind”, wrote W. L. Garrison. In the declaration of the sentiments of the “American Antislavery Convention,” which he had written, he demanded not only the abolition of slavery, but also the full civic emancipation of the negro. “We further believe and affirm, that all persons of color, who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others, and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.”

But then it must not be forgotten that Garrison began his violent struggle against slavery when he was scarcely twenty years old, and even his friends and supporters protested against his over-heated tirades. Senator Charles Sumner, who took Daniel Webster's place in the United States Senate, when the latter tired the state of Massachusetts with his vacillating attitude on the problem of slavery, was much more of a politician than most of his associates in the cause of abolition. His brilliant discourses were directed mainly against the institution of slavery, and he but seldom touched upon the broader problem of the relation between the two races. And he was not at all ready to preach, or even to admit, the legal and general equality of the races. The brilliant Wendell Phillips was a great deal more explicit on the subject. Thus in his lecture devoted to the great founder of the Republic of St. Domingo, the full blood negro Toussaint L'Ouverture, Phillips spoke as follows: “I am engaged to-night in what you will think the absurd effort to convince you that the negro race, instead of being the object of pity or contempt with which we usually consider it, is entitled, judged by the facts of history, to a place close by the side of the Saxon. Now, races love to be judged in two ways, by the great men they produce, and by the average merit of the mass of the race..... In the hour you lend me to-night, I attempt the Quixotic effort to convince you that the negro blood, instead of standing at the bottom of the list, is entitled; if judged either by its great men or its masses, either by its courage, its purpose or its endurance, to a place as near ours, as any other blood known in history”.

Horace Greeley, whose enthusiasm for the cause of abolition moved him to write a very big history of the Civil war, nevertheless admitted his hope, “that a day will ultimately dawn, wherein the rudely transplanted children of Africa might either be restored to her soil, or established, under a

government and flag of their own, in some tropical region of our own continent," in other words, he admitted, unconsciously perhaps, that after a life of two centuries in the boundaries of the United States, the negroes had no essential right to remain in the new country. But the majority of the famous circle of writers, poets, philosophers of the forties, (the golden era of American literature,) men like Henry Ward Beecher, William Bryant, John Greenleaf Whittier, and many, many others stood for the equality of races.

All these manifestations of youthful enthusiasm and brotherly love are very interesting, and significant as far as they go. Yet too much importance should not be ascribed to the words and deeds of this small body of men. Their services to civilization and humanity should not be minimized; but they were the exceptional, not the typical representatives of their times and conditions. They were powerfully and eloquently expressing the ethical side of that demand for abolition of slavery, which undoubtedly had a material basis as well. Even in that demand for abolition the North did not too readily follow these leaders and even in the north the abolitionists did not receive too kind a treatment.

Garrison of Boston was subjected to the severest persecutions, Lovejoy was brutally killed by a mob in Illinois, for no greater crime than that he dared to express himself in favor of abolition. And when the historical meeting was taking place in Faneuil Hall for the purpose of protesting against the killing of Lovejoy, the majority of the speakers actually defended the mob for its deed, and it took the brilliant oratory of a Wendell Phillips to sway the audience in the opposite direction. This happened in 1837; but as late as 1853, Phillips stated, that whenever the question of slavery was touched on "The Press says 'It is all right,' and the pulpit cries 'Amen'."

It is evident, that when such was the attitude towards slavery, it would be useless to look for any tendency for recognition of the equality of the negro's position in social life.

It is necessary to emphasize this attitude of the north towards the negro, for these historical facts are of great assistance in the effort to understand many conditions of the present time which would seem truly monstrous, were we to imagine,—as do many even of those who write on the negro problem,—that only thirty or forty years ago the negro did enjoy the full civil and political rights on a basis of equality with the white man.

With all that, the legal position of the free negro was unmeasurably better in the north than in the south, the main difference being that in the north the negro was given a

chance to get an education. The schools were open to the negro no less than to the white child, and though during the period we are dealing with at present, the majority of the northern states insisted upon a separation of the races in schools, nevertheless that was much better, than the general illiteracy, in which even the free negroes of the south were anxiously kept by their masters.

Southern writers then as now, were anxious to prove not only that the free negroes were worse off in the North than in the south, but that they were also worse negroes. Even the German investigator Von Halle yielded to this view, in stating that the successes of the negro in liberty did not give much hope that they might improve much with the abolition of slavery. Nevertheless, if one was to judge of the capacities of the negroes, a few examples were as strong evidence, as many. And the facts were that in the north, many negroes were working in various trades, owned farms, stores and so forth, that there were negroes with property to the amount of \$500, \$1000 and even \$10,000, and what was much more important, the negroes of the north, began to produce great men, such as Phyllis Bentley, and the famous Frederick Douglass. It is very essential to remember, that on the eve of the Civil war the negroes were not any more the uniform mass, as they seemed to the fanatical defenders of the slavery system.

Out of that uniform mass, there began to develop the usual distinctions, between the rich and the poor, the industrious and the lazy, the virtuous and the vicious, educated and ignorant, talented and stupid individuals.

Until now, I have spoken mainly of the external changes in the conditions of the negro population of the States. In conclusion of this brief study of the psychology of slavery of America, it will be useful to indicate those more far reaching changes which the two and a half centuries of life in America have brought about in the psychology of the negro. For this purpose the recent work of a young southern scientist, J. A. Tillinghast, is of much use and of great interest. The work has been conceived in quite a novel way: for an effort is made in it to compare the psychology of the Negro as he is in Africa, as he was in slavery, and as he is now in America. The author is not only a southerner, but a son of an ex-slave owner, and therefore he is not to be suspected of idealizing the negro. Being a southerner and, in addition a faithful follower of the modern American school of sociology, he considers heredity to be a much stronger factor than the social milieu. But notwithstanding this point of view, and notwithstanding the certain fact that until the very eve of the civil war a fresh

stream of African immigration greatly interfered with the action of American conditions upon the development of the negro in the new world, this investigator was forced to acknowledge a tremendous process of development and progress of the race during the 250 years. It is not necessary to enter here into an extensive criticism of his theory of the selection of the strongest and best during the capture of slaves in the African deserts. The fact is admitted that the interbreeding of the various African races in America, as well as the infusion of considerable quantities of white blood, produced a type of an American negro, who may be physically weaker but is mentally much stronger than the negro of Africa. In the United States the negroes were forced to lead a much more regular life, observe elementary rules of cleanliness, were getting used to services of medicine. The slaves were acquiring the habit of regular work, learned many forms of skilled labor, were instructed in the use of many tools, previously unfamiliar to them. A growing number of them was entering various branches of industrial labor, and often entire plantations, households and shops were entrusted to individual slaves. All this required a greater amount of intelligence than the south collectively was willing to concede to the Negro. While the influence of christianity was not as great as it might have been, nevertheless a material change took place in the religious views and customs of the negroes; many of the heathenish practices and superstitions had vanished and in their place there appeared simple but sincere ethical principles. In addition, many new social sentiments began to develop. In short, the negro was showing a strong capacity in moral, intellectual and social growth; all of which the south solemnly declared to be impossible, for this impossibility of spiritual growth was the stock argument in the defense of the justice of slavery as a permanent institution.

I. M. ROBBINS.

(To be continued.)



EDITOR'S CHAIR

The Work of the Convention. The national convention of the Socialist Party of America, which assembles May 10 at Brand's Hall, Chicago, will have plenty of work before it. And it will be important work, though not so important perhaps as some of us imagine. For no matter how wisely or how unwisely the convention may act, methods of production will go on evolving, and the changed methods will modify people's ideas and their politics. The one thing that our convention can help decide is whether the Socialist Party is to grow into what the working class needs, or disappear to make room for something better. We are confident that the delegates will take a clear, comprehensive view of the complex situation, and act accordingly. The platform we need is one that voices the thought of the revolutionary wage-workers in the great industries. It is true that these wage-workers are as yet a minority of the voting population; it may even be true that only a minority of the Socialist Party are made up of them. All the same, it is to them that the future belongs. Forces stronger than any man or set of men are recruiting the numbers and clarifying the ideas of these wage-workers. They constitute a compact group with a definite aim,—the ownership and control of the tools they use but do not own. Their aim is scientific,—it is in line with social evolution. The logical place for small property owners who hope to maintain themselves as property owners is with Watson, Hearst or Bryan. Let them try to move evolution backward if they like. They can only fail, and when they have tried to their hearts' content, they will be ready for a working-class programme. The small property owners and the so-called brain workers who understand social evolution are as ready for an uncompromising platform as are the wage-workers. We trust that the American socialist platform of 1908 will be the rallying point for the great revolutionary movement that in some shape is bound to come.

The Party Constitution. All the various plans for altering the party constitution that have been proposed during the last two years have been referred to a special committee consisting of James Oneal of New York, Winfield R. Gaylord of Wisconsin, and Charles H.

Kerr of Illinois. Their report, which is to be submitted to the convention for action, will embody no very radical changes. Perhaps the most important of those likely to be recommended is a reform in the method of electing members of the National Executive Committee, referred to in this department of the Review for February. It is now proposed to place no name on the official ballot unless endorsed by ten locals,—a change which, it is hoped, may prevent the scattering of a large part of the votes among candidates who have no chance of election. It is also proposed to establish definite rules for dealing with an alleged violation of the national constitution by a state organization, providing that a state charter may only be recalled by a majority vote of all qualified members of the National Committee, and that from their decision an appeal may be taken to a referendum vote of the party. A provision is also suggested for requiring a number of seconds before a vote of the entire National Committee is taken by correspondence, and for requiring a majority vote of all qualified members before a National Committee motion becomes effective. With these amendments the constitution should fit the needs of the party for some time to come.

The Anarchist Bugaboo. On the foundation of a few trifling incidents, which incidents can readily be interpreted in more than one way, the police departments of the principal American cities have assumed the existence of a gigantic Anarchist plot against the lives of the ruling class or their public servants. On this pretext they have undertaken to suppress any public speaking of a revolutionary sort. In so doing they are clearly violating the constitution they are legally bound to maintain. We are glad to see that Socialists are everywhere protesting energetically against this course. At the proper time we have plenty of arguments of our own against the Anarchists. In their philosophy they stand with the defenders of capitalism or with middle-class reformers against the Marxian theories which explain how society is really evolving. In their tactics, they play into the hands of the ruling class by diverting the attention of some few working people from political action. But when their right to free speech is questioned, we must recognize that their fight is our fight. Indeed, we as a party have more to lose than the anarchists from the success of the police in assuming the right to judge what shall and what shall not be said in public. Our argument is that because free speech and free voting are allowed, the sane way to work for the social revolution is by public propaganda and the ballot-box. But if free speech is once suppressed, our argument falls to the ground, and we shall have no effective answer for those who claim that the working class must use brute strength against the brute strength that holds it down. On the other hand, in our fight for free speech we have powerful allies,—not only what is left of the middle class, as represented by Louis Post's weekly *The Public*, but

also the saner and more far-seeing section of the capitalist class proper. Thus *The Nation*, the weekly edition of the New York Evening Post, in a recent editorial calls a halt on the police, and points out that England's immunity from revolutionary violence is largely due to the fact that the English authorities have permitted the fullest measure of free speech. A national campaign is on, and open air meetings are, apart from the circulation of literature, our most effective form of propaganda. Let us insist on the right to hold them.

Immigrants, Desirable and Undesirable. After all, does not the question of the desirability of an immigrant turn on the question of who it is that does the desiring? We are moved to this reflection by the contrast between the article by Comrade Boudin in the February Review and that by Comrade King in this issue. Boudin is a cosmopolitan living in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Socialist movement of New York City. King is a Californian, in close touch with the union laborers of San Francisco who have thus far maintained a pretty high standard of living by dint of hard fighting, and who fear that the next move of the capitalists may be to glut the labor market of the coast with Asiatic labor. Each writer voices the natural desires and feelings of a definite group, and the attitude of each is perfectly intelligible and rational. We in the convention must realize this and not become unduly indignant over each other's views. But when it comes to deciding the policy of the party, it is pretty certain that the Californian opinion will be overwhelmingly in the majority. The Socialist Party of America is the party of the working class, standing at all times for the interest of American wage-workers. If these wage-workers believe that the exclusion of Japanese laborers will enable them to maintain or raise their standard of living, even for a while, it is the function of the Socialist Party of America to back them in this fight with all the strength it has. As for universal brotherhood, that will come in the future as a result of the triumph of the working class, but we can not hasten its coming by acting in a way to divide the working class here and now. The capitalists are day by day giving the workers object lessons in the need of a political party of their own; it remains for us socialists to show that ours is the party that they want.



Japan. — It is to be hoped that the Japanese enjoy their newly acquired occidentalism. They have surely taken on the most modern and acute form. In fact they are just now involved in the same difficulty which grips the governments of England, France and Germany. To make a showing against the Socialists these governments have felt obliged to institute paternalistic reforms — most of them very expensive. On the other hand the necessity of finding foreign markets has led to an unheard-of increase in armies and navies. It has not been sufficiently emphasized that the principal governments of Europe are confronted by an entirely new situation. In the midst of prosperity bankruptcy stares them in the face. The novelty of the situation lies in the fact that our statesmen recognize this condition as permanent; they give not the least prospect of relief. In the nature of things expenses must steadily increase, and all sources of revenue which ingenuity can discover have been drained to the limit.

And now, with changes of names, the recent history of Japan might be substituted for that of England, France or Germany. Before the Russo-Japanese war her annual budget amounted to \$130,000,000; now it is more than \$300,000,000. The national debt has increased to about \$700,000,000. The government is feverishly taking over and mismanaging one monopoly after another. It now controls the railroads and the salt, tobacco and camphor industries. At that the people, most of them miserably poor, are taxed at the rate of four dollars a head. "Under these circumstances," remarks the correspondent of the New York Evening Post, "it is small wonder that Socialism of the rabid sort is on the increase."

In colonial affairs, too, the Japanese are rapidly becoming civilized: no doubt some almond-eyed Kipling will soon be upon us with "The Yellow Man's Burden." The Koreans have seen their telegraph and post office systems taken over by their benevolent superiors. Thousands of them have been driven from their homes by Japanese officials or marauders. American missionaries, who naturally sympathize with the "backward" race, are afraid to say a word in protest. For with their other modern acquirements the Japanese have learned to smother public opinion. American papers furnish ample evidence of this. No sooner does a true report of the internal or colonial affairs of the Flower Kingdom see the light in our public prints than there follows an official denial. So do modern morals follow modern economics.

England. — The retirement of Sir Campbell-Bannerman and the reorganization of the government under Mr. Herbert Asquith is of

small importance. Mr. Asquith has virtually been premier for weeks past. His personal character will merely tend to hasten the downfall of the — present Liberal combinations. Whereas Sir Campbell-Bannerman was an accomplished compromiser unembarrassed by principles the new Premier is a sharp lawyer of the rasping, grasping Puritan type. Less of a publicist than his predecessor, he may be said to represent "the interests" rather more directly. So he is hardly the man to hold the radicals in line for long. It is significant that the cabinet was reorganized so as to occasion the minimum number of bye-elections (there are to be but four). Nothing could show more clearly that the Liberals are afraid to take their record to the people for judgment. It is worth noting, moreover, that matters have been so arranged that the chief opponents of the House of Lords have been given seats in that august body. This probably indicates the end of the Liberal Anti-Lords campaign.

An American is struck by the evangelical energy which characterizes the Socialist propaganda in England: it would be hard to match it on the continent or in this country. This is probably due to the fact that the English movement has reached a crucial point already past in most European countries and not yet attained on this side the water. All of a sudden it has been recognized as one of the great forces in the land: on the platform and in the press the challenge is flung down to it. And the manner in which the Socialists give account of themselves is an object-lesson to their comrades in other lands. The party papers have set themselves to raise 20,000 shillings for a campaign throughout the country. Already the red vans representing the cause are carrying speakers from town to town, and are received everywhere with enthusiasm. The *Clarion* has organized a chain of cycling clubs which make frequent runs to hold meetings or distribute literature. Various party locals have organized choirs which furnish music at public meetings. But the chief weapon of the English proletarian is argument. There was probably never before in the world such an epidemic of debating as rages now in the British Isles. Before clubs and into public gatherings the Socialist is sent by his organization to defend his faith; and the results are not far to seek. Meantime the party papers give a constant moving picture of English economic conditions. The horrors of unemployment, underfeeding, lack of housing and other atrocities are revealed in articles that leave little to desire in the way of detailed information and vigorous statement. There is disagreement within the ranks in England, even as here. But internal dissension is not allowed to turn the attack from the capitalist system.

France. — If the history of the world labor movement is ever written it will reveal some curious anomalies. At the present moment, for example, the French *Bourses du travail* are passing through a crisis that an American workingman might find it hard to understand. Since 1890, when these organizations were first formed, many of them have depended for their existence upon government support: radical municipal authorities have held the labor vote by furnishing headquarters for union activities and making annual contributions to union treasuries. In return the *Federation des Bourses du Travail* has helped the government out of more than one tight place—notably through the good offices of its employment bureau in times of industrial unrest.

But the moment the working-class became self-conscious and began the inevitable battle against its exploiters this beautiful arrangement came to an end. First the unions were required to give account

of their expenditures; then many were driven from their quarters, and their official incomes soon reached the vanishing point. Now they face the problem of self-support. The **Federation** has an elaborate establishment at Paris, but most of the individual unions are poorly provided for. The acquisition of property is more difficult in France than in America, and French workingmen are much less able to tax themselves than their American comrades. So the problem is really a colossal one.

Germany. — More than ever attention is centered on electoral reform. The Prussian Landtag election has been set for June. The three-class system was especially designed to save the poor from the dangers of political power; so the Socialists have little to hope for—not more than the gaining of six or eight seats at most. Their papers are filled with discussions as to whether such slender possible representation is worth fighting for, whether even the heaviest proletarian vote would have any effect on the government. In a recent number of *Die Neue Zeit* Eugen Prager argues in favor of the use of extra-parliamentary measures. He insists upon the advantages of the general strike, passive resistance and concerted abstinence from consumption of articles of luxury like beer or brandy. In *Sozialistische Monatshefte* Wolfgang Heine makes an elaborate reply. To him all extra-parliamentary weapons seem childishly inadequate; for, in his opinion, the poor would suffer from them more than the rich. The weight of public opinion seems to be with Heine rather than Prager. The great cry is to arouse public sentiment. Important elements in the population, it is argued, can be won over at least to the support of a secret-ballot measure. The professional classes and small tradespeople especially, are said to favor reform. Therefore most of the Socialists place their main reliance on vigorous agitation and a large vote.

For a long time the imperial government has felt the need of a uniform association law, and now it is in a fair way to get one. A commission constituted by the Reichstag is now at work upon the first draft of such a measure. In addition to prescribing purposes and methods of forming organizations this law is to limit the right of holding public meetings. It is the latter feature that especially interests our German comrades. It is proposed, among other things, to limit the right of public meeting to German citizens and to prohibit discussion in any language but German. Even citizens using their mother-tongue, however, are not to hold public gatherings except under strict police regulation. Meetings or other demonstrations in the open air are to be held only with consent of the authorities. Other gatherings may be forbidden or dispersed if it appears that they are subversive of "public order." No person under eighteen years of age is to be allowed to take part in public discussion. The efforts of the Socialists are bent upon making the law as definite as possible. It is felt that any ambiguity will furnish the government a means of further shutting off free speech.

Russia. — The temporary defeat of the revolution in Russia is signalized by the reappearance of the Russian papers formerly printed at Geneva. The explanations and forecasts furnished by these journals are of deep interest to the outside world. As was to be expected, the views of the "Revolutionary" Socialists and the Social Democrats are diametrically opposed. The former, represented by the *Proletarij*, maintain that the present reaction includes only the great land-owners, the capitalists and the bureaucrats, less than five

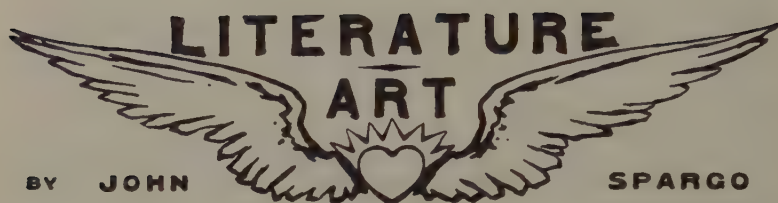
per cent of the population; while on the other side are lined up the great majority, the proletarians and farmers, merely waiting for the word to overturn the tyrannic hierarchy. Just how five per cent of the population is able to maintain itself against ninety-five per cent is left to our imagination. The *Golos Sozialdemokrata* represents the Social Democrats. With brutal frankness this journal acknowledges the defeat of the Socialist forces. The different classes, it reports, are rallying about separate centers; various unions and clubs are forming nuclei for renewed revolutionary organization; but the Socialist party, as a party, has well-nigh ceased to function.

Fortunately enough the first volume of a thorough-going study of Russian economic conditions, *The Agrarian Question in Russia*, by M. Masslow, has just been translated into German, and thus a wide circle of readers has come into possession of the material necessary to an understanding of the situation. It is evident that Russian industry has not reached the point at which successful revolution is possible. It should be borne in mind that the recent disturbances were due as much to bourgeois as to proletarian initiative. In the greater part of Russia there is no industrial population and in most districts small farmers still predominate. Under such circumstances a proletarian revolution could come almost only in the imagination of the Utopian dreamer.

Italy. — The Italian railway employés have finally turned their backs on pure and simple tactics. They met in convention at Rome near the close of January and since then the Italian press has been boiling over with discussion of their action. Readers of the Review may remember an account in these columns of the unfortunate results of the great railway strike last October: a large faction of the railway workers felt they had not been supported by the Socialist party and so declared for independent action—with the strike as the only weapon. This faction has now been definitely defeated. By a vote of 32 to 12 the recent convention accepted a straight revolutionary program: the purpose of the union organization is, it declared, the preparation of the workers to take over the railways and operate them in the interest of society.

The most significant resolution proposed, however, was one which proclaimed that the workers would bind themselves to no one line of tactics. This form of statement, which represented the Socialist program, was accepted by a vote of 36 to 25. This means that the Socialist party and the railway workers will continue to act together. Since the Italian railways are owned and run by the state, the government is watching developments with a good deal of uneasiness; and the bourgeois papers have been plunged into a most undignified state of excitement.

LITERATURE ART



BY JOHN SPARGO

We were seated in the comfortable observation car of the California Limited, rushing away from Kansas City toward Chicago. The Stranger, sleek, well groomed and obviously at ease with the world, was reading an evening paper. Somehow—was it a lecturer's vanity?—I knew that he was reading the report of my own lecture. Suddenly, with a gesture which seemed to indicate a baffled mind, he threw down the paper. Then he spoke as one hungry for consolation and sympathy. "What's happening to America? The papers are full of Socialism, just as if no one cared for anything else. And as for books on the subject, why the shops and the public libraries seem to be full of them". And then, with simulated impartiality, I listened to an interesting discussion of the stranger's impressions of my own lecture as reported in the evening paper!

* * *

To the mighty torrent of Socialist books my friend Robert Hunter contributes a suggestive and interesting volume entitled "Socialists at Work", published by the Macmillan Company. By his former work, "Poverty", Hunter contributed to the indictment of capitalism a tremendous arsenal of facts which Socialist propagandists have found of immense value. In the present volume he contributes rather to the interpretation of the Socialist movement of the world, and every Socialist worker will be more able to understand the movement after reading it.

Some parts of the book have already appeared in the pages of *The International Review*, and my readers will, therefore, be familiar with at least a portion of the work. It is only fair, however, to add that the author's revisions have been so numerous and extensive as to preclude the possibility of these chapters being regarded as "twice told tales" by any reader. The serial publication bears to the work in its present form the relation an artist's rough sketch bears to his finished picture. I use the simile of the artist and his work advisedly, for the literary art of the book is unquestionable.

The author deals with theories hardly at all. His aim is to describe the actual movement as he found it in the principal countries of Europe. There are vivid descriptions of policies and excellent word portraits of the leading exponents of all such policies and tendencies. Concerning the actual movement in the various countries I am scarcely able to speak with any degree of authority; the greatest part of a decade has passed away since I was privileged to know it intimately, and in the interval stupendous changes have taken place.

Upon the whole, however, I am inclined to accept Hunter's interpretation of the international Socialist movement as being singularly discriminating and wise.

Of his portraiture of the leading men—there are none of the women!—in the movement I can speak with greater confidence, and to the great mass of our comrades who will never have an opportunity of knowing such European comrades as Bebel, Ferri, Kautsky, Jaures, Guesde, Hardie, Hyndman, Turati, Vaillant, Anseele, Vandervelde, Labriola, and many others, I can cordially recommend the book as the best account of these men and their work in the movement ever published.

Of course in such a volume, dealing with many different nationalities, with lands of varying political and economic conditions, there must needs be room for much divergence of opinion concerning the conclusions reached. Take for example the English movement. Upon the whole, I find myself forced, at this distance, to agree with Hunter's view of the situation there. As an old member of the Social Democratic Federation, having taken a small part in the propaganda and organization work in the stirring days when "bricks were more plentiful than ha'pence", and having fought side by side with the brave men and women of the S. D. F. in many a forlorn fight, all my sympathies go out to the S. D. F. I shall never be able to adequately express my love and admiration for the men and women who have been in the very forefront of the fight for more than twenty years. Still, it must be admitted, I think, that the S. D. F. has failed, politically. Perhaps Engels was right when he predicted that the Independent Labor Party would become the real Socialist movement of England. Certainly, there has arisen a new working class movement which has left the S. D. F. far in the rear. But whether this Socialist Labor Party is, or is to be, the Socialist movement of England, is not yet very clear. I confess to a sense of disappointment, at times bordering upon impatient disgust, at its lack of aggressiveness, its constant truckling to the Liberals. A writer in the "New Age", which has never been friendly to the S. D. F., being in general more of an I. L. P. organ, recently described the Socialist Labor Party as "a refractory tail to a most tiresome dog"—the Liberal Party.

I am inclined, as I say, to accept Hunter's view of the situation, but not without grave doubts. In England, doubtless; I should see things more clearly than at this distance. I think of a memorable afternoon spent with Keir Hardie in a small "pub" at Porth, South Wales, years ago. Had that meeting come a few years earlier, I think I should have joined the Independent Labor Party. "Keir" then was dreaming of the great united party of the workmen to-be. Now the dream of the party has been realized, but even "Keir", I imagine, must find its work very disappointing. And one thing I am sure of: whatever mistakes they may have made, the men of the Social Democratic Federation—Hyndman, Burrows, Quelch, Williams, and the rest—have done for Socialism in England a great and invaluable work. Not only did they pave the way for the I. L. P. and make it possible, but they have educated the I. L. P. itself to Socialism. I deplore their pin-pricking policy of these days, their constant assaults upon the I. L. P. and their withdrawal from the Labor Representation Committee, but I honor them none the less for the courage with which they have kept the torch of Socialism burning.

For this digression I must crave the reader's pardon. It remains only to be added that "Socialists At Work" is a book which every Socialist ought to read and re-read.

In connection with the foregoing, I am prompted to add a brief notice of "The Socialist Movement in England", by Brougham Villiers, a handsomely printed volume of 330 pages, published by T. Fisher Unwin, London. Mr. Brougham Villiers—I suspect the name is a pseudonym—writes from the viewpoint of the newer English Socialist movement. His defense of Socialism is interesting and sincere and his observations concerning the present tendencies of British Socialism are often suggestive and illuminating. The great central fact in the author's mind is that while "there is an international aspiration in Socialism; there cannot be an international method"—a lesson which Liebknecht was wont to emphasize during his later years, but which we in America are only just beginning to learn. We have taken our methods as we took our theories from Germany and only lately have we begun to attain a consciousness of the fact that our methods must be born of our own experience. The present unsettled and perplexing condition of affairs in the English movement may be, after all, only incidental to the transition from an artificial to a natural and spontaneous Socialist movement.

Like most of the newer Socialists, the author fails to do justice to the pioneers of the movement, the men and women of the S. D. F. His "respectability" prejudices his view. He does not manifest the slightest sign of a recognition of the vast difficulties under which the little group of Marxists worked during the "eighties", nor of the work they did in laying the foundations of a great and virile working class Socialist movement. At times he is positively unjust, as, for example, in his statement that the Federation has never "long retained the services of any original mind, or managed to incorporate any new creative conception into its work and policy". As a matter of fact, the surprising thing about the Federation is the steadfastness of the "Old Guard". Hyndman, Burrows, Quelch, Bax, Irving, Thorne, Hunter, Watts, Williams, Mrs. Despard, "Jimmy" Macdonald—the list could be indefinitely extended—are a few names which occur to one as refutations of this statement.

Whoever turns to this book with the expectation of finding accurate and reliable information will be disappointed; but as an interesting discussion of the development of Socialism from the viewpoint of the newer movement the book has considerable value. There is a bibliography at the end of the volume more remarkable for its omissions than for its contents.

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Edmond Kelly's little book, "The Elimination of the Tramp", published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, is a type of the "intensive" sociological studies which Socialists are making and publishing, a sign of the growing tendency to apply Socialist principles to the study of American conditions. Here we have an army of half a million tramps in the United States, a large percentage of them being between sixteen and twenty-one years of age. The figures are a guess, not wholly justified, I think, by the author, but the number is probably not an over-statement of the problem. Thousands of these are killed or injured each year while stealing rides upon the railroads, and it is estimated that they annually cost the railroad companies twenty-five million dollars. Then there is the cost to society, to our cities, for police, prisons, courts and reformatory agencies. Such, very briefly stated, is the Tramp Problem.

Comrade Kelly's solution is one that all Socialists are, or should be, familiar with—Labor Colonies. The establishment of such

colonies has long been advocated by Socialists and in various European countries our comrades have secured their establishment. An interesting account of these European experiments is given and modifications necessary for American conditions suggested.

* * *

No single issue, of our useful "Standard Socialist Series" published by Charles H. Kerr & Company, has given me greater pleasure and satisfaction than Marcus Hitch's little book, "Goethe's Faust", which the author modestly describes as a "fragment" of Socialist criticism. What Comrade Hitch sets out to demonstrate is that, just as the popular psychology is determined very largely by economic conditions, so is the psychology of the masters of literature; that, in a word, the ethical standards of such great writers, as Goethe reflect the economic conditions of their time. A few years ago the late Ernest Crosby, who, it will be remembered, was bitterly opposed to the Marxian theory of the materialist conception of history, shocked the bourgeois world by an onslaught upon Shakespeare, exposing his utter contempt for the working classes and the influence of his environment upon his work. Tolstoy took the matter up and with some vigor carried Crosby's criticism a good deal further. In somewhat the same fashion, but more clearly, with a more fully developed consciousness of the relation of cause and effect, Comrade Hitch has done the same thing in this admirable criticism of "Faust". It is to be hoped that we shall have a good deal more of this kind of writing—especially with reference to the great writers of our own time.

The Liberators—by Isaac N. Stevens. Published by B. W. Dodge & Company, New York. \$1.50.

Isaac N. Stevens belongs to the new school of young writers, among whom are Charles Edward Russell, Lincoln Steffens and Ray Stannard Baker, whose function it appears to be to reveal the skeletons that have long been carefully concealed in the political and industrial closets of America. We socialists may sometimes wonder that they do not sooner come over into our ranks, but they might well say the ground has not yet all been plowed and that if somebody had not worked before we appeared with our books and pamphlets, our seed would doubtless never have taken root.

Mr. Stevens has given us an excellent story of the struggles of a young lawyer, George Randolph, of New York, who seeks to inaugurate clean politics in the New York and national political quagmire. Incidentally he gives us one vivid sketch after another of the present methods of capitalistic control. Bribery, cheating and lobbying are revealed in all their insidious power, but young Randolph remains true to a promise made to his father and stands by what he believes to be the Right. At the risk of losing not only his reputation as an efficient and capable attorney but the young woman whom he loves, as well, George Randolph plunges into reform politics and finally succeeds in defeating the old and extremely rotten Machine and becoming state senator of New York. Ultimately he succeeds in winning over the people, and a majority of the stockholders, to Government Ownership of Railways, and other long-agitated reform measures.

We do not believe conventional thinkers can read Mr. Stevens' book without receiving a series of wholesome shocks. And if they lose a portion of their respect for those institutions that have come to exist for the sole purpose of enriching a few at the expense of the many, the ground will be the readier for us socialists. **M. E. M:**



WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

Contrary to general expectations the long threatened contest between the capitalistic interests and organized workers on and along the lakes has commenced. The open shop, or open ship, has been made the issue by the Lake Carriers' Association, who, during the past month, held a convention in Cleveland and made a demand that the marine engineers sign individual contracts and assist in establishing open shop conditions on board ship. Pending the submission of the proposition to a referendum vote about 300 engineers signed the death warrant of their organization, but after a poll of the locals was taken it was found that an overwhelming majority of the membership favored repudiating the open shop and union-wrecking system their employers sought to impose and declared their readiness to fight for the preservation of their association to the last ditch.

In discussing this crisis with the writer one of the prominent officials of the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association said: "It is not improbable that if the carriers had merely asked us to sign individual contracts our men might have complied. But when they insisted that we aid them to establish the open shop on shipboard—when they virtually demanded that we become union-smashers and strike-breakers and betray our organized fellow-workers in other branches of marine transportation—we were forced to draw the line tight. Our members have been naturally conservative, a good deal like the railway engineers, but we are not quite reactionary enough to become traitors in the eyes of the laboring people of the country."

The scheme of the vessel owners is quite transparent. The old, old divide-and-conquer tactics are to be tried over again. They hope to split the M. E. B. A. and non-unionize the engine rooms with the aid of professional strike-breakers, then the seamen are to be wiped from the map as an organization, and finally the longshoremen, the most powerful of the marine unions, will be attacked and put out of business, for the demand also has been made of them to yield to open shop conditions.

If all the marine organizations were affiliated in a close federation they could withstand almost any onslaught from their organized employers, but unfortunately some of the alleged leaders have been afflicted with the big head and are classified as the most persistent of the craft autonomists. Naturally the vessel owners saw the opportunity this season, aided by dull industrial conditions, to deliver a smashing blow at "Bro. Labor." And it is worth noting that those interests in the forefront of the war upon the marine unions are represented in the National Civic Federation, the aggregation of eminently respectable hypocrites and pharisees who, assemble in New

York once a year to rid themselves of a lot of pietistic talk and pose for their pictures while at dinner.

The nation-wide agitation that has been caused by the United States Supreme Court decision annulling the employers' liability law, outlawing the boycott and legalizing the blacklist has brought consternation into the ranks of the politicians. The Socialist and labor press throughout the country has discussed the decisions from every standpoint and mass meetings of workers have been and are being held in hundreds of cities and towns to condemn the jug-handled justice that has been handed out to the working class by the smooth old gentlemen of the supreme bench who make or unmake laws to suit their sweet will.

The result of this widespread condemnation of the courts in general and the U. S. Supreme Court in particular is seen in a hint that has come from the department of justice in Washington to the effect that organized labor has nothing further to fear from the present administration, and that immunity from prosecution is promised the unions "until certain further matters in the courts have eventuated," whatever that may mean—probably it means until the polls are closed next November and Fat Man Taft, the pioneer in the judicial union-busting business, has been elected.

Meanwhile a new employers' liability law has been enacted by Congress, and the haste and unanimity with which it was railroaded by corporation lawyers and other representatives of "the interests," has created a suspicion that there is a "sleeper" in the new law or there may be a secret understanding that the courts will, in the fullness of time, smash it to flinders when a test case is made. Anyhow, the announcement was made when the bill passed (doubtless at the direction of the old fossil Cannon) that labor would get nothing more from the present Congress, which means that the anti-injunction bill and the eight-hour bill, first introduced somewhere back about the middle of the last century, will be permitted to sleep in their pigeon-holes until the gang goes home to bamboozle the yaps once more.

Despite the decree that labor would not receive so much as a pleasant look before adjournment of Congress, A. F. of L. officials have been making strenuous efforts to secure consideration of the proposed amendment to the Sherman anti-trust act to prevent the application of the provisions of that law to labor organizations. But there is little hope that the bill will be reported out of committee, and so, despite the reported hint that the law department will co-operate in no more damage suits against unions, organized labor is very uncertain regarding the future—is "up in the air", so to speak.

Of course, the National Association of Manufacturers is claiming all the credit for jamming down the lid on all further labor legislation. The N. A. M. has established a literature bureau in Washington and the capitalists of the country are being deluged with circular letters asking for a piece of money and warning them that if the labor bills become laws their property will be confiscated and the end of the republic has been reached and "anarchy will reign." (curtain and red fire.)

President Tom Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, has gained his first notable victory. Although there has been no fear of a general strike at any time, Lewis inherited a discouraging situation when he assumed office. The mine owners were clamoring for a reduction of wages and insisted upon settling all questions by districts or individually. While the trade problems were being debated the

old agreement expired and the men were compelled to suspend work. Lewis insisted that the interstate agreement be revived and had his way in a special conference which met in Toledo the latter part of the month. The old 90-cent wage rate will be continued for another two years and minor questions were satisfactorily arranged.

Typically capitalistic have been recent developments in the textile industry. Chapter 1.—The mill barons meet and decide that in the interest of their business a wage reduction of 10 per cent will be enforced. Chapter 2.—The mill barons meet again and decide that they will restrict production in defiance of the law of supply and demand of bourgeois economists in order to maintain prices. Chapter 3.—The mill barons meet once more and vote to enforce the prevailing prices for one year. Nothing is said about restoring the wage reduction. The curtain descends with the heroic mill barons 10 per cent ahead of the game and the villainous employes working short time and making side jumps for the soup-kitchens.

There is also a sequel to this latter-day industrial comedy. The weavers, the strongest branch of the United Textile Workers, are withdrawing from the confederation. They object to paying an additional nickel a month to the international union for the purpose of strengthening the organization—but they will pay an additional 10 per cent a day to the kind masters.

Really, to watch the antics of some alleged union people and listen to their ignorant talk one cannot be surprised to learn that the masters take advantage of them. The big strike of four years ago, when the soup-kitchens were running full blast, did not teach the textile workers anything. Only a few months ago I heard some of their officials express sentiments that would indicate that in the textile industry at least the miracle of uniting the capitalists and laborers as one had been successfully performed.

A fact that should not be overlooked is that in cities where efforts are being made to suppress free speech and public assemblage the police, as a rule, are not much better than irresponsible bands of crooks. In New York, where the unemployed demonstration was attacked in much the same manner as the minions of the Czar rode roughshod over the people of St. Petersburg on "Bloody Sunday," the World shows that \$30,000 a month has been paid in bribes to the police in one district alone by keepers of gambling and crap joints and pool rooms. The World started a decoy gambling house and laid bare the whole rotten mess.

In Philadelphia, where an effort is being made to suppress Socialist meetings, the police are being shown up as river pirates, receivers of stolen goods, etc. In Chicago more than one cop has been caught in crooked work all the way from holding up and robbing pedestrians late at night to blackmailing keepers of disreputable resorts.

Just how these guardians of the peace and protectors of morals expect to convince the people that the Socialists are a bad lot while they are immaculate is not quite clear, although they may and doubtless do satisfy certain plutocrats that they ought to make liberal contributions to the police officials to break up meetings where citizens might gain some knowledge of their criminal methods. Socialist agitation may be checked here and there temporarily, but every act of coercion on the part of the police will only tend to more fully arouse the workers.

NEWS & VIEWS

Immigration. — I congratulate you upon your decision to discuss the Immigration problem in the columns of the Review. While it is reasonable to assume that had this question been previously discussed, our National Committee would not have accepted the resolution presented by the American delegation at the Stuttgart Congress, it is certain that it is never too late to right a wrong. I am convinced that this resolution was a serious mistake. Conclusions based upon false premises are bound to be wrong. The premise that races should be divided into "organizable" and "unorganizable" being erroneous, the conclusion that "unorganizable" races should be prohibited from immigration to this country is inevitably wrong also. Moreover, the fact that the "unorganizable" Japanese nation is almost as "civilized" as we, the "organizable" Europeans and Americans, proves beyond the possibility of doubt that historically, the authors of the resolution are totally wrong.

It may be argued by the upholders of the resolution that the unorganizability of, for example, the Japanese workingman, is due to their low standard of life, but those advancing this theory admit thereby that the Japanese workingman is not inherently unorganizable but that they are unorganized because of present economic conditions.

What, then is the thing to be done? Are we to favor the immigration of Japanese and similar peoples and change their standard of life by organizing them, thereby increasing the solidarity of the working class, or, are we on the contrary, to stand for the exclusion of the Japanese, thus intensifying race prejudices? In other words, are we to exclaim "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" adding "except workingmen of unorganizable races", or will we hold to our motto with no exceptions at all?

This is about the size of the Immigration problem, and considered in the light of both human experience and the animating spirit of the socialist movement, socialists can find but one answer in their efforts to solve this problem. The whole question is so completely covered by the Stuttgart resolution that socialists, as well as humanitarians of all sorts, must either approve of said resolution, or join the ranks of the reactionaries.

How can our National Committee's rejection of the Stuttgart resolution be otherwise explained than that in their efforts to please the conservative trade unions, some of our "leaders" have approved the false, reactionary view of the trade unions on the Immigration question. How can Comrade Berger simultaneously approve the socialist ideal of the The Brotherhood of Man on one hand and the "superior" and "inferior"

race theory on the other, a theory worthy of the ancient Roman patricians or of the American slave-holders of more recent date? Did Comrade Berger ask himself whither he was drifting when he wrote his article on the "superior" and "inferior race" theory? Let us calmly and thoroughly consider this question, comrades, and I have no doubt as to our ultimate conclusion.

H. S. VICTORSEN.

On Nominations. I suggest that the plan of nominating members of the Executive Committee be changed rather than the plan of election. It seems to me the fault lies there. Why not require ten locals in three different states to make a nominee eligible? A candidate who is not sufficiently prominent to be thought of thus widely would have no show for election. This would also prevent a number of locals in one state from nominating one man who, perhaps, is well known in the state but not outside. You may know how that goes. Locals will nominate one man for everything that comes up regardless of his fitness to serve in such capacities. I would like to have at least one woman on the Executive Committee and I think most members would, judging from the way they vote. But when many women are nominated under the present plan their vote is scattered and no one is likely to be elected. Granted that we should have one woman on that committee then the most feasible plan suggesting itself to me is to provide, constitutionally, for this by calling for the nomination of women members and placing and counting votes for them separately.

Edward J. Rohrer, Sec'y. Treas. Soc. Party of Iowa.

Prohibition versus Brotherhood. "Smash the Saloon" is like the cry "Lynch Him". It is the mob-voice unguided by heart or brain.

Brother reformers in the big cities, deal gently with the saloon. Be sure you're right, then go ahead. But don't prohibit and don't raid. You double the graft, you develop a syndicate of secret dives, you harden the liquor dealer, and you make the local politician to laugh.

We are stumbling along drearily enough to-day, with a pack of unenforcible laws, that refer to "closed saloons for all day Sunday", and similar jocose items of the merry wags in the legislatures.

Add to our load with a little more about "No saloons at all", and our backbone will snap.

If you wish to cure certain evils in the saloon, right you are, and we are with you. But abolish the saloon, and you sow vice with a wide gesture.

Lean down from the height of your flashing car, respectable citizens all, who vote an upper-class ballot; and try to see these problems with a heart of pity, and with a neighborhood viewpoint.

The evils are more intense even than you think—more sickening and wide-spread. But the kindness and good fellowship of the poor, in which the saloon is a central factor, are greater than you dream. The comradeship of the underworld is stronger than the graft.

Is there a single function which by right the church should be fulfilling that the saloon has not acquired? It gives hospitality and welcome to the poor, warmth to those in rags. It feeds the hungry. It is always open, always bright, always warm.

All of living service to the community that some sacramental agency should perform is to-day left to the troubled liquor dealer.

Till the church unlocks its curiously carved doors, and warms its nave and humanizes and spiritualizes its clergy and worshipping well-

to-do, the feet of the young men will lightly turn them to the little cafe around the corner.

It has been the saloon versus the church as channel for the great warm human currents of community life. And the saloon has won. Three times shame on the church that those tides have flowed elsewhere. Let her not talk of Prohibition in the great city till she manifests a desire and a capacity in herself to receive and direct and interpret that flow of the lonely and holy spirit of man, so wistful of a little joy.

The saloon is here to stay. The beneficent coffee house and the cosy little sideboard at home will not supplant it in our generation. Upper-class virtue wreaked on the head of the liquor dealer and the policeman will not cleanse the city. But if we can once release the immense unusual goodness of the race, we will make head against our worst problems. And we can only do this by knowing that the liquor dealer and the district leader and the policeman belong to the human family, and are already nearer the hearts, as well as the vices, of the neighborhood, than we that wish to do them good.

Arthur H. Gleason.

The Lewis Lectures. Thanks for sending me a copy of Lewis' "Evolution, Social and Organic". I heard most of the lectures in Chicago, and you know how much I appreciated them at the time. But they gain on re-reading. The information conveyed by them is not only accurate, but so happily divested of all academic ponderosity, that it may be assimilated by every novice and used as a basis for further study. Lewis may call out opposition here and there among intellectuals and close thinkers, but it will be only in narrowly contested points or on topics which are just evolving and taking on a definite form, and which have not yet been settled among scientific specialists. Such points cannot lead the reader astray, but can at the very worst place him on one or the other side of the coming controversies. This will not do him any harm, but rather draw him into the thick of the intellectual struggles of our days. All the lectures are highly stimulating, at least to me, and I can find untold delight in scanning them over again and again and enjoying the manifold suggestions for research which they contain on every page. I am very glad to hear that these lectures find an unprecedented sale. They will contribute to the clarification of minds inside and outside of our movement as few other books have done, and they will do it in a way that avoids the onesidedly political and economic point of view, which is such a marked feature of most of the socialist literature. Arthur Morrow Lewis is not only a Marxian, but also a dialectic monist, and this makes his work one of the most significant and valuable for the Socialist movement of America. I hope you will soon follow up this first volume by a second one. Ernest Untermann.

Hebrew Socialist Fellowship. Appreciating the success of our Christian comrades and believing that the ethics of Judaism and Socialism are identical, a number of Hebrew Socialists of New York City have decided to issue this call for a permanent organization of the disciples of Moses and Marx, the two Jewish intellectual giants. The H. S. F. will have for its object the propagation of the principles of Hebrew Socialism—as first expounded by Moses on Mount Sinai, and subsequently elaborated by his lineal descendant Karl Marx—among Rabbis, Talmudists and orthodox Hebrews in every synagogue and Mikwah in this broad land. For further particulars inquire of the secretary, Ben Lichtenberg, 1044 Forest Avenue, New York, N. Y.

PUBLISHERS' **DEPARTMENT**

THIS MONTH'S REVIEW.

How do you like it? The eighty pages represent a heavy cash outlay from slender resources, besides an immense amount of unpaid labor. The Review has been published nearly eight years and it has been a steady drain on the publishing house all the time. A magazine of this size can not be run properly without an income of five thousand dollars. The income of the Review last year from all sources except donations was \$2,533.26, nearly all of which came from subscriptions. Our receipts for the first three months of 1908 were \$968.57 as compared with \$702.68 in the corresponding months of 1907. This is a fair start, but we must do a great deal better to maintain the issue of eighty pages a month. What we are trying to do in connection with the increased size is to make a magazine that every active socialist and every studious investigator of socialism will enjoy reading. Do you think we have done it? If so, show your faith by sending at least one NEW subscription for a year with a dollar before the month is out.

AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

On the first of April we received a cash contribution of \$250.00, with a pledge of a like sum every three months for a year to come, from Eugene Dietzgen. The greater portion of this contribution is to be used for the special purpose of securing articles for the Review from leading European socialists; the remainder is to help out on the deficit. If the American comrades help as well in proportion to their ability as this comrade in Germany, the deficit will soon be a thing of the past, and the future of the Review will be assured.

VOLUME III OF CAPITAL.

Comrade Dietzgen's help to the publishing house does not stop with the contribution we have just acknowledged. Two years ago he paid for the translation, typesetting and electrotyping of the two large volumes "Philosophical Essays" and "The Positive Outcome of Philosophy", by his father, Joseph Dietzgen, whose works thus published in library style are second in importance only to those of Marx and Engels in the literature of socialism. A second edition of each of these volumes has just been published. A year ago Eugene Dietzgen paid for the translation of the second volume of Marx's

Capital, already in its second thousand, and he has now presented the co-operative publishing house with the magnificent gift of a complete English translation by Ernest Untermann of the third and last volume of Marx's great work. The manuscript is now completed, but the typesetting, proof reading, electrotyping, press work and binding will take about four months. Moreover, this work will involve a cash outlay of about two thousand dollars.

The third volume will be larger than either of the other two. If a capitalist house were to bring out a book of this sort at all, the price would be fixed at not less than five dollars. Our retail price will be \$2.00, and we shall mail the book to any stockholder in our publishing house for \$1.20. Advance orders will be a help, but they must be sent with the understanding that the book can not be promised for delivery earlier than September.

But the advance orders will not pay the first cost of the book. Part of the money must be raised otherwise.

STOCK SUBSCRIPTIONS.

A share of stock in our publishing house costs ten dollars, and it carries with it the privilege of buying books at cost. Moreover for a short time longer we shall continue the offers published in our bulletins and circulars of books free with a share. These offers will soon be withdrawn, and those who wish to take advantage of them should do so at once. Two hundred shares subscribed for this month would give us the working capital we need..

LOANS FROM STOCKHOLDERS.

As no dividends are paid on stock, we do not expect any one to subscribe for more than one share. But a number of comrades can spare larger amounts than this for a longer or shorter time. If you wish to leave money with us to be returned on a day's notice, you can count on having it when called for, but in that case we can not afford to pay interest on it. If you leave it with the agreement that it be returned on thirty days' notice, we will pay four per cent. If we can have six month's notice, we will pay five per cent. We do not offer a higher rate of interest, for two very good reasons. One is, that the commercial standing of our publishing house is such that we do not need to pay high interest rates; high rates go with extra risk. The other is that we are selling nearly all our books to stockholders at prices that simply cover the cost, including the general expenses of the business, so that we can better afford to grow more slowly than to pay high interest rates. If you want to put your money where it will be safe and where at the same time it will be used to circulate Socialist literature, let us hear from you. One way to help and at the same time save trouble and expense for yourself is to send from \$5 to \$20 at a time to apply on future orders for books. In this way you save the trouble and expense of sending a money order every time you want a single book, while a hundred such deposits will make an important addition to our working capital.

NEW BOOKS NOW READY.

The Common Sense of Socialism, by John Spargo, just issued in cloth at \$1.00 and paper at 25 cents, is if we are not greatly mistaken destined to be the most popular book we have yet published. It is scientific and original enough to be acceptable to veteran party mem-

bers, yet simple and readable enough to interest the man in the street. It is clear on the class struggle and historical materialism, yet does not state these theories in a way to upset the nerves of people to whom they are new. In short it is a book that will please both socialists and inquirers, in city and country alike, and it is in our opinion the only book yet published with such a wide range of usefulness.

Stories of the Struggle, by Morris Winchevsky, is a volume of short stories full of live people worth knowing, and nearly all revolutionists. This is a book that will be most popular in the cities where the struggle is warmest. It will appeal to the fighters in the movement, whether they care for literary style or not. On the other hand these stories simply as literature will appeal to thousands of readers who are not socialists but who recognize good craftsmanship in a book when they see it. Cloth, 50 cents.

The Russian Bastille, by Simon O. Pollock, announced some time ago, has been unavoidably delayed but will be ready for delivery by the time this issue of the Review is in the hands of its readers. It is not fiction but a recital of the most terrible facts concerning the reign of terror not yet ended in Russia. Illustrated, cloth, 50 cents.

Where We Stand, an address by John Spargo, which had a wide circulation when published by the Comrade Company, and has for some time been out of print, is the latest addition to the Pocket Library of Socialism. Other new numbers are "History and Economics", by J. E. Sinclair, "Industry and Democracy", an address before the Butte Miners' Union by Rev. Lewis J. Duncan, and "Socialism and the Home", by May Walden, a revised edition from new plates. Several more booklets in this series are in press and will soon be ready, among them "Forces that Make for Socialism in America", by John Spargo, formerly published at 10 cents and "Industrial Unionism", by William E. Trautmann. The Pocket Library of Socialism contains sixty booklets, and we mail a full set to any one for a dollar or to a stockholder for sixty cents.

NEW BOOKS IN PRESS.

Value, Price and Profit, by Karl Marx, is beyond question the most important of the few socialist classics not yet brought out by our publishing house. We shall have a beautifully printed edition ready for delivery before the end of May, price 50 cents. There is no book quite so urgently needed for those who call themselves socialists as this. It was written by Marx in English so that the strength of his style is not diminished by translation. It explains in the clearest possible fashion the process by which the capitalist now gets the greater part of what the laborer produces. Nothing will help a writer or speaker so much to appeal convincingly to wage-workers as a clear understanding of Marx's theory of surplus value. No one else has stated this theory so well as Marx, and he has nowhere else stated it so simply and clearly as in "Value, Price and Profit."

Changes in the Theory and Tactics of the (German) Social Democracy, translated by Winfield R. Gaylord, will be ready for delivery about the last of May. It will be a valuable help to the comrades who are beginning here and there to elect socialists to city councils and state legislatures. The author and translator of the book are opportunists, but the work includes many valuable quotations from Engels, Bebel, Liebknecht and other writers taking the view usually held by Marxian socialists. Cloth, 50 cents.